

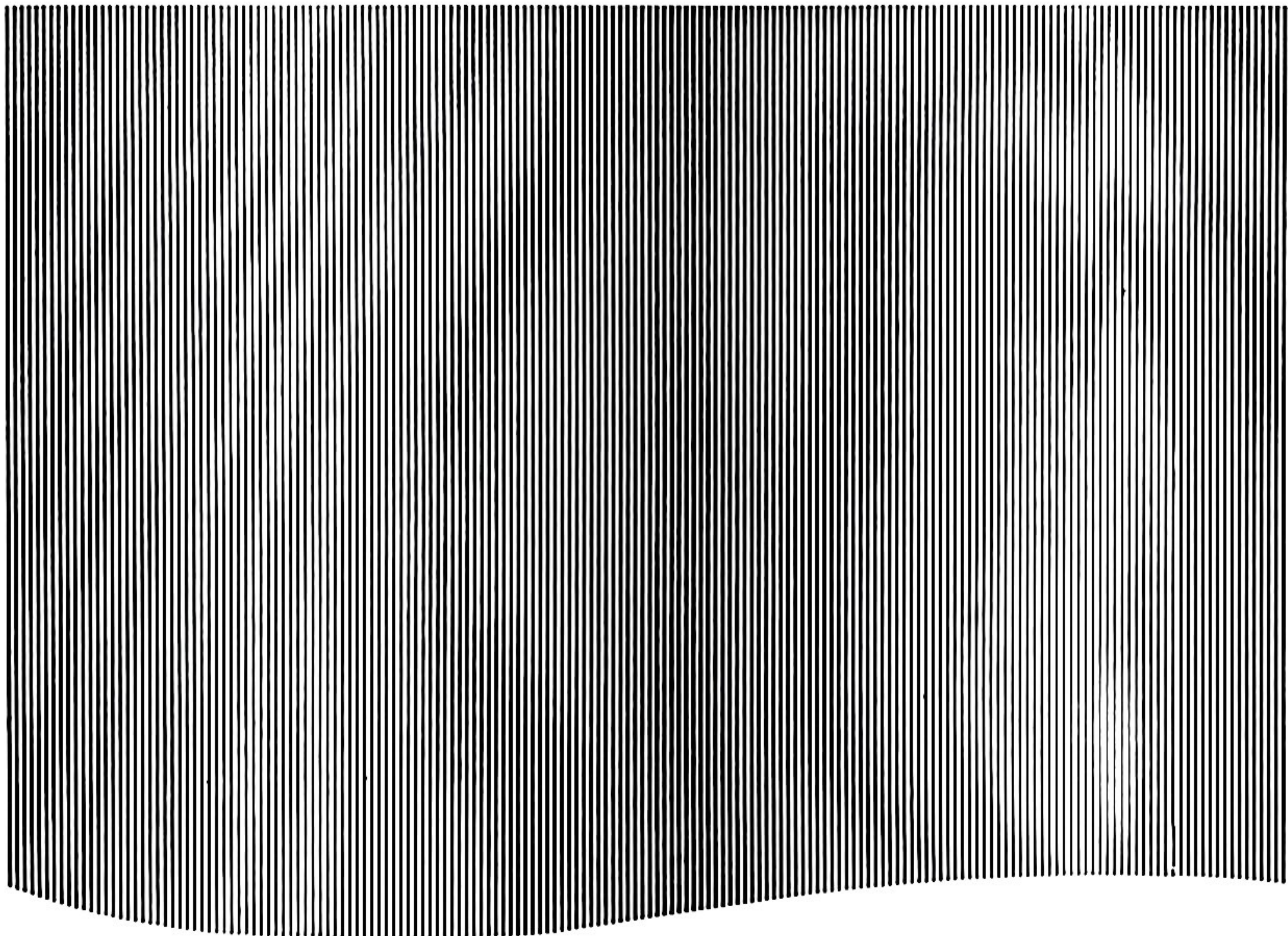
JPS BOOKLET 2

JAPANESE MOVEMENT AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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FOR PREVENTING NUCLEAR WAR AND
ELIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS,
FOR A TOTAL BAN ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING

Central Committee, Japanese Communist Party

September 26, 1986

Serious Nuclear Arms Race

1. The General Assembly of the United Nations in the International Year of Peace opened on September 16, where close attention is focused on the attitudes of the nuclear possessing countries to the question of nuclear war and nuclear weapons. However, US-Soviet negotiations on disarmament since last year have shown no substantial progress, while the nuclear arms race has taken the course of serious aggravation, including expansion to outer space. The task for world peace, and above all, the ending of the threat of nuclear war has become ever more immediate and serious, an urgent task of world politics on which the people should concentrate all their efforts.

The JCP strongly urges that the United States, the Soviet Union and other governments make active efforts in world politics for an effective advance in the task of preventing nuclear war and the eliminating of nuclear weapons. It appeals for the anti-nuclear peace movement of the world to make every effort for a new rise of international opinion for achieving this, regarding it as an urgent central task for all humanity. The JCP will continue to do with might and main all that can advance and develop this cause. The development of international public opinion and movement for preventing nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons will be the decisive factor in breaking the present deadlock in the US-Soviet negotiations.

**Significance of a Total Ban on
Nuclear Weapons Tests**

2. In this situation, the Soviet government has unilaterally suspended

nuclear weapons tests since August 6 last year, the day of commemoration of the atomic bombing, and has extended it three times, though the US has made no corresponding moves.

From its basic stand on nuclear disarmament, the Japanese Communist Party has not requested the Soviet Union to take a unilateral step. But it evaluates highly and welcomes the Soviet Union's suspension of nuclear tests on its own initiative and continuing it, as an expression of the earnest zeal of the Soviet government for the elimination of nuclear weapons, the task of all humankind. The new period of such suspension has been extended to December 31 by General Secretary Gorbachev in his TV speech on August 18.

It is a matter of course that the only way to end the nuclear arms race presently threatening world peace and to liberate humankind from the threat of nuclear war is the elimination of nuclear weapons on the earliest possible time, to which the key is a decisive upsurge of the movement of the peoples and public opinion for a total ban on nuclear weapons and their elimination. As the Joint Statement between the JCP and the CPSU issued in December 1984 states, this task is "an urgent and vitally important one for humankind, the central task of the anti-nuclear peace movement and of total world politics" in "the present world situation with the danger of nuclear war increasing". There is no alternative to the elimination of nuclear weapons in getting rid of the threat.

At the same time, the Japanese Communist Party sets store on effective partial measures and efforts that will promote an advance of the great cause of prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons. As is explicitly defined in the JCP-CPSU Joint Statement, a total ban on nuclear testing and conclusion of an international agreement on this will, if materialized, become one of the "effective partial measures to really promote" an advance toward the goal of a total ban and the elimination of nuclear weapons. In fact, every nuclear test is carried out in order to technically guarantee development, maintenance, improvement and preparation for the use of nuclear weapons and in itself forms an important part of the nuclear arms race. The total banning of such nuclear tests has significant importance in breaking the vicious circle of the nuclear arms race and putting nuclear disarmament on the track.

So as not to let this valuable opportunity, brought about and combined with the Soviet initiative, to wither in futility, the JCP strongly advocates that the US and other nuclear weapons possessing countries take positive responsive measures for materialization of a total nuclear test ban at the

earliest possible date; and that both the US and the Soviet Union in good faith give concrete form to the confirmation made in the US-Soviet foreign ministerial talks in January last year, the theme of the negotiations being "the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere", and to find the way to reach a total ban and elimination of nuclear weapons. On US-Soviet negotiations, the JCP has proposed the setting up of an independent committee concerned with this task as the forum for direct negotiations between the two on the question of the elimination of nuclear weapons so that the confirmation at the US-Soviet foreign ministerial talks would not end up as empty words.

It must be strictly pointed out that the government of Japan, the only atomic-bombed country, has the responsibility of playing a positive role not only in the question of the elimination of nuclear weapons but also on the total banning of nuclear tests, if it is to respond to the earnest wish of the Japanese people and world opinion.

US Government Should End Insistence on Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Tests

3. In reality, the response of the US government to the Soviet proposal on moratorium measures on nuclear tests comes to mean that the US has no intention of giving up the testing of nuclear weapons, whatever steps may be taken by the Soviet side. This is completely contrary to the hope of the peoples, who are demanding the end of the nuclear arms race. In fact, the US has already carried out underground nuclear tests 19 times while the USSR moratorium on nuclear testing has been in effect.

This or that reason that the US gives as grounds for its attitude is both illogical and lacks persuasive power. One of these reasons is the allegation that the unilateral step to halt testing was taken by the Soviet Union only after its own intensive nuclear weapons testing, but this allegation has been refuted with material facts by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), a neutral international research organization. On the question of verification which has often been raised by the United States, the Soviet government has made public its willingness to accept the study of any measures for verification, including international inspection, and this does not provide any grounds for refusal by the US.

After all, what the US argument boils down to is this, that the continuation of nuclear arms tests is necessary to ensure the reliability

and effectiveness of US nuclear deterrence (statement by Speakes, US presidential spokesman), i.e., the argument clings to nuclear weapons, insisting that the tests are necessary for the continuation of nuclear arms expansion. It is obvious that this betrays even the statements made by President Reagan, who has repeatedly spoken of the hope for liberation from the threat of the nuclear arms race at the earliest possible time, especially the elimination of nuclear weapons.

In the United States, too, public opinion is spreading, seeking a positive response to this question, as seen in the resolution of the US House of Representatives calling for a one-year total moratorium on underground nuclear tests.

The JCP strongly urges that the US government change its present attitude of sticking to nuclear weapons and their unending buildup, and take the position of promptly achieving the total banning of nuclear weapons tests.

Our Urgent Task: Mobilization of Movements and Public Opinion for Elimination of Nuclear Weapons

4. The present situation in international politics over the question of nuclear tests has again demonstrated that the attitude of some governments of sticking to nuclear weapons, regarding the maintenance of nuclear force as an ever-lasting reality and insisting on the premise of equilibrium or superiority of nuclear forces, is the greatest obstacle to the realization of such really present and partial measures.

This has proved, in the reality of international politics, that the premise of the JCP-CPSU joint statement and confirmed by the recent JCP-CPSU summit talks, is correct. That is, the "movement and public opinion for a total ban on nuclear weapons" are the important factors, and only by developing them can the achievement of partial measures for the prohibition of nuclear tests be promoted. Until now, there has been a tendency in the peace movement in parts of the world to make the elimination of nuclear weapons, which is the central task, something to be achieved in a far distant future, insisting that only the prohibition of nuclear tests is the urgent and central task. The situation over nuclear tests since last year has proved eloquently that this tendency to make the elimination of nuclear weapons a secondary task and concentrate the main efforts of the peace movement on individual partial tasks, only leads to setbacks, and renders the movement for partial tasks powerless.

The situation over nuclear war and the nuclear arms race is continuously becoming more and more aggravated. The JCP strongly calls on all forces and governments in the world that earnestly desire humankind to be free from the threat of nuclear war to seriously take up the task of preventing nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons, and make the most earnest efforts to isolate those forces that insist on nuclear weapons and obstruct the achievement of this vital task for humanity. They must be encircled by public opinion and movements against nuclear weapons and for peace, their counteroffensive overcome to open the way to peace. Perspectives for materialization of a total ban on nuclear weapons tests can be reached only when the task is linked with a great advance and development of the movement and public opinion for prevention of nuclear war and the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

ON TALKS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV AND OTHER CPSU LEADERS

— JCP Presidium Chairman Tetsuzo Fuwa in
Interview with Akahata —

Interviewer: Yoshinori Yoshioka
Director of Akahata
Akahata, August 17, 1986

Yoshioka — *The mass media had speculated before your departure from Japan, that the session of the regular talks between the Japanese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would be held on Hiroshima day, August 6. But because CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev was not well, we were worried that the talks may not be able to be held. However, the talks were held and with excellent results. At the beginning of our interview, would you tell me how the things went.*

HOW THE TALKS CAME TO BE HELD WITH GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

Fuwa: It seemed that the Soviet side was much concerned about this. On arrival at the airport we were met by Comrade A.N. Yakovlev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and we decided that the talks should be held from the morning of August 6. The next day however, Comrade Yakovlev told us that unfortunately Comrade Gorbachev had caught a cold after his trip to the Far East, and could not speak. From my own experience of becoming hoarse during the election campaign, I understood his difficulties and asked Comrade Yakovlev to tell Comrade Gorbachev to pay careful attention to recovery of his health.

Comrade Gorbachev is so robust that he had never been ill since taking office, so his associates were at a loss as to what schedule to make. First, we were told he would recover in two or three days. But on returning from our trip to Leningrad, we were told that their judgment

had been wrong, and conditions for holding the talks were not good.

They said they were sorry but they did not want to keep us waiting long, and proposed that talks should be held with Comrade E.K. Ligachev, Politburo member and Secretary, in place of the General Secretary, if we agreed. I received a message from Comrade Gorbachev that he would do his best, with apologies for troubling us. Eventually, on August 11, I went to the CPSU Central Committee building for talks with Comrade Ligachev from 11:00 a.m., but on arrival we were informed that Comrade Gorbachev could participate in the talks from the outset.

— *Judging by the TV news, it seemed that the Japanese pressmen were very surprised at the sudden appearance of Comrade Gorbachev.*

I heard later that the sudden appearance of Comrade Gorbachev caused a reporter to trigger the camera hastily, without changing his telephoto-lens, and his photographs were so out of focus that they could not be used. It was also said that one correspondent to Moscow had to become a temporary interpreter, because no formal interpreter was present.

It seems that the Soviet side did their best in face of the unexpected trouble. The General Secretary himself said, "I would not be here for work today, if it were not for the schedule to meet our Japanese comrades." Learning that the General Secretary was coming to his office, the aides thought that they could deal with jobs left unsettled while he was absent. But Comrade Gorbachev told them, "My only job today is to meet the Japanese comrades", refusing to attend to any other work. They told us about this afterwards.

Comrade Ligachev, who had been suddenly called back from his vacation, said that he was much relieved by the participation of the General Secretary in the talks, which went on for two and a half hours. It seems they had promised that the General Secretary would attend the talks for only one hour.

— *You chanced to meet the two top CPSU leaders, the General Secretary and the second in the party set-up at one time, as a result of Comrade Gorbachev's illness. I suppose such an event would be rare, if ever.*

The Soviet side explained that Comrade Ligachev is the CPSU leader

next only to General Secretary Gorbachev, and takes the latter's place when he has to be absent. Together with these two important top CPSU leaders the others present were: Secretary of CC Yakovlev, who is in charge of a broad range of party work as a secretary in charge of propaganda, and V.V. Zagladin, First Deputy Chief of the CPSU international department, who attended the meeting from that department as a substitute for A.F. Dobruinin, chief of the international department of the party. Such a lineup was so rare that it became a topic of conversation among the Japanese pressmen in Moscow.

We exchanged opinions with many officials of the new CPSU leadership at the same table, and this, I expect, will be very helpful in the development of future relations between the two parties.

— *This is the first time for the JCP to hold a talk with Comrade Ligachev, isn't it?*

**TALKS FOCUS ON HOW TO DEVELOP THE
WORLD ANTI-NUCLEAR PEACE MOVEMENT**

Certainly, it was. All those present had been elected to the Politburo or to the Secretariat after Gorbachev had taken office.

— *Please tell us what was discussed in this regular talks session. Having participated in the JCP-CPSU summit in 1984, I am directly responsible to see that the Joint Statement issued at the 1984 meeting is implemented. So this first session of regular talks between the party heads claims my special attention.*

A series of events have happened during a little more than one and a half years since the Joint Statement was issued, events that include the international dialogue on disarmament and detente held in Vienna in January, 1985, in which I took part, and the international symposium sponsored by the JCP last year, giving me a deep impression that the JCP-CPSU Joint Statement has great vitality, but at the same time I feel that there is a long way to go for the full implementation of the Joint Statement. But in these regular talks I am convinced that we made a strong advance in implementing the Joint Statement. Mr. Chairman, please give us your direct impression of the talks you

participated in.

**Reviewing Implementation of JCP-CPSU
Joint Statement Over 20 Months**

Basically, such regular talks as these held at this time to monitor the implementation of Joint Statement have been very rare, if ever held, in the history of the world communist movement.

It has been common for a joint statement to be issued between communist parties; but we, and probably the CPSU, never had such an experience, that the parties to such a joint statement are not satisfied with the mere statement of the determination made at the time of signing the document, leaving its implementation to others to attend to, but have continued to monitor its implementation at subsequent regular talks to see how to put into practice what they have agreed on. This shows how seriously the JCP and the CPSU are taking their responsibility for the joint statement they signed in December 1984.

The regular talks were all the more significant because they were held between the heads of the two parties. Giving you my conclusion first, I can say that the deliberations in these regular talks were really fruitful, deserving of regular talks participated in by party heads.

The two parties confirmed strongly that the Joint Statement signed by Comrade Miyamoto and Comrade Chernenko in their talks in December 1984 is still valid and vital in the present circumstances, confirmation that in itself is of real significance.

When I visited Moscow to attend the funeral of former General Secretary Chernenko in March 1985, I met the new General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, and it was confirmed that the Joint Statement should be proceeded with. That, as it were, was an expression of determination by the Gorbachev leadership at the very beginning of their work. The regular talks held now by the two parties were against the background of the experiences of these twenty months since the signing of the Joint Statement. Of this period, seventeen months belong to Comrade Gorbachev.

On the basis of the JCP-CPSU Joint Statement, the JCP has been engaged in very energetic activity relating to the anti-nuclear peace movement both in Japan and abroad, and has published its opinions relating to many questions. The CPSU has also made every effort for

successful USSR-US negotiations beginning from January 1985, while taking part in the peace movement, and taken a variety of initiatives represented by the Gorbachev proposal for eliminating nuclear weapons within a set time-frame. Based on these experiences, in our regular talks we reached the conclusion that the question of nuclear war and nuclear weapons can only be resolved when we abide by the provisions of the Joint Statement. This conclusion is far from being mere words. Now that twenty months have passed since the Joint Statement was issued, the two parties confirmed that the statement is an important guideline held in common by both of them, and must be persistently maintained, looking to the future. That this confirmation was made on the basis of the activities of the two parties and the positive record of performance adds greatly to its significance.

Let me go into more detail about what was discussed. General Secretary Gorbachev told us that, although the Soviet Union had done its best to achieve successful results in the USSR-US negotiations, it had not been able to break through the barriers set up by the other side; whatever active proposals and whatever bold concessions the Soviet Union had made could not induce the Reagan Administration to make a positive response. He said that the present key task was to make clear "what we should do" at this point of time, and made a straightforward request that we search for the way together.

By contrast, the only thing the mass media in Japan expected from our talks was for the JCP to play up conclusions the Soviets had already reached. Many reporters in the press conference focused their questions on this. But the facts are very different. The two parties which issued the Joint Statement did it with a sense of responsibility and have conferred with each other from various points of view about the measures that should be taken in the present conditions, and how the conclusions reached should be applied effectively in their respective operations. This was the spirit in which we held these talks.

In the talks, General Secretary Gorbachev and Politburo member Ligachev said repeatedly that their desire was to have deep-going discussions that would be helpful in drawing up a policy. The CPSU interest lay in this, and the JCP's major interest in holding regular talks with the CPSU was also to jointly do research about the policy that should be adopted in the days to come.

The focus of the talks was therefore first of all on the present conditions of the anti-nuclear peace movement throughout the world, and

what should be done for further development of the movement.

— *According to a report from Moscow, you stressed the effort to "change the relationship of forces". This was what we both emphasized in the JCP-sponsored International Symposium in 1985. Was this an important theme in the talks?*

Talks Were Conducted in an Effective Way

Yes. Speaking of the global disposition of forces in this struggle, Comrade Gorbachev said that the potentiality existed for finding the way to eliminate nuclear weapons and prevent nuclear war, and this should be mobilized thoroughly, but he thought that sufficient efforts had not been made to do this. I too said that it was certain the peace movement in the world had strengthened remarkably after the Joint Statement was issued, but frankly, the reality was that its development did not meet the demands of the situation or the task to be done. In this respect also, I felt that the interests of the two sides were identical.

The discussion proceeded in an impressively flexible and effective way. Generally speaking, bilateral party conferences tend to spend a rather long time on each party's report in the first round, and take up deliberations in the second round. In this session of JCP-CPSU regular talks however, whenever I finished a statement on a certain theme and was about to take up the next subject, Comrade Gorbachev interrupted me by asking questions or expressing his opinion. He said, "Wait a minute, please. I have something to ask you on your statement." Then an exchange of opinions followed, in which I explained our position in more detail. When he fully understood it, I resumed my report.

— *An actual exchange of opinions?*

Yes, it certainly was. It could be called a dialogue and debate. In this way we were able to know what were agreed points and what points the two parties were still rather apart on, to enable us to reach agreement. In this debate, I was rather outspoken in raising the question of the World Peace Council and other international organizations in which both parties are involved. I pointed to weak points to be overcome, and let them know our view about how international public opinion should be built up.

Of course, these are independent organizations, but with regard to the

WPC, for example, JCP Secretariat Chief Mitsuhiro Kaneko is one of its Vice-Presidents, and JCP Standing Presidium member Hiroshi Tachiki is a member of its Presidential Committee. Members of the CPSU are also members of the WPC leadership as representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee. So the two parties have been able to achieve some results from their cooperation based on the provisions of the Joint Statement. Such cooperation is helpful in promoting the work of these organizations.

Let me refer to a very impressive event that occurred in the last session of the JCP-CPSU talks. For a long time the peace movement has had a deeply based tendency to follow the different emphases of USSR diplomacy, treating them as the most important task of the peace movement as a whole, although it is usual in the diplomatic world for such emphases to vary according to changing circumstances. A typical instance of this was the "Stop Reagan" slogan adopted at a WPC meeting in January 1984, which was made the central slogan of the peace movement. Any movement working under such a slogan would lose its base as soon as US-USSR negotiations began.

Citing this case I said, "If the movement is seen as a pro-Soviet movement, it will never be able to attract or persuade world public opinion, especially in the United States. It is important to eliminate this deep tendency which is backed in certain quarters." The prompt answer given by Comrade Gorbachev was "I completely agree with you. Such a movement can not succeed and is not needed by us."

— This means that the two sides have now reached agreement that "the world peace movement must not be a cheering party for Soviet diplomacy"—a position which has always been maintained by the Japanese delegates at WPC meetings.

I attach much importance to the fact that the two parties reached agreement on how to expand the Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki signature campaign. A few days before the talks began, the International Meeting of the 1986 World Conference against A and H Bombs called for further development of that campaign. The JCP and the CPSU reached agreement on this, a fresh agreement for implementation of the Joint Statement, an agreement of real importance, I believe. Please tell us how this agreement was reached.

COMRADE GORBACHEV SUPPORTS SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN, SAYING "LET'S STRIVE TO FIND THE WAY OF COOPERATION"

Well, when we were discussing the question of the peace movement, I introduced the signature campaign in support of the Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a task calling urgently for cooperation between the two parties. The JCP-CPSU Joint Statement, recalling the historic value of the Stockholm Appeal in 1950, said "(both sides) fully expect that in the present situation a new international movement expressing the desire of the masses for a total ban on nuclear weapons and their elimination will experience a great upsurge."

I said that prepared in this spirit, the Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been initiated by persons from 12 countries, who met in Japan in February 1985. In Japan, more than 20 million people, including more than half the heads of local autonomies, have signed their names to this document, and internationally, 18 international organizations and 133 national organizations have supported the campaign, and the Special Committee on Disarmament of the Non-Governmental Organizations decided to recommend that its members join the campaign. The campaign is now going on in 147 countries. I introduced the names of internationally prominent persons who put their signatures to the appeal. However, none of the organizations of the Soviet Union, including the Soviet Peace Committee, joined the campaign for various reasons, though they expressed "support and solidarity" for the appeal. But, I emphasized, if we are to expand the campaign so widely over the world that those who refuse to abandon nuclear weapons cannot disregard it, the two parties should engage in earnest cooperation for it.

Speaking in this way, I gave Comrade Gorbachev a copy of the Russian version of the signature form, which he read through. Having finished reading it, he said at once, "I don't know the process in detail, but what is stated here is in a complete conformity with CPSU policy. Politically there is no problem; let us strive to find the ways and means for the two parties to cooperate in it."

When Comrade Tachiki said, "Some 80,000 citizens signed their names to the document when the World Youth and Students' Peace Festival was held in Moscow last year," Comrade Ligachev responded, "Well, but we

have a population of some 280 million in our country." This is how the two parties agreed to start materializing cooperation between them in this field.

Two Parties at once Begin Consultations on How to Tackle the Campaign on an International Scale

After finishing the talks, which continued for two and a half hours in the morning, General Secretary Gorbachev left. In the afternoon talks were resumed between Comrade Ligachev and me, and the agreement (reached on the signature campaign in the morning session) was reconfirmed. Then I made a proposal that negotiations should begin the next day about how to implement it, which was favored by Ligachev. In the morning of August 12, negotiations were held between Comrade Tachiki from the JCP and Comrade Zagladin, First Deputy Chief of the International Department of the CPSU. It seems that preparations were made between General Secretary Gorbachev and Comrade Zagladin and other officials on Monday after the morning session ended. Before negotiations began between Tachiki and Zagladin, the Soviet side had made enough preparations to propose what cooperation the CPSU could give in developing the campaign at home and internationally, so rather deep-going negotiations were held.

When leaving the next day for Japan I said to Comrades Yakovlev and Zagladin at the airport, "I am happy to have learned that your strategy for 'accelerating' international activity has born fruit, as your strategy for 'accelerating' economic development, adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress, did." My impression is that the JCP-CPSU regular talks have made a smooth and effective start.

Because various organizations are involved in the campaign, its development will depend on their efforts. A wide range of peace organizations from all over the world are expected to gather in the World Congress devoted to the International Year of Peace scheduled for Copenhagen in October, and I am convinced that in facing this very important opportunity for the anti-nuclear peace movement of the world, good conditions exist for a fresh international upsurge in the signature campaign in support of the "Hiroshima-Nagasaki Appeal".

On the evening of the day when the JCP-CPSU talks ended, the Soviet TV put the talks on the air for seven minutes as a top news item from

9:00 p.m. It commented on the dissemination of the campaign being regarded as a common task of the two parties, saying that "Gorbachev and Fuwa emphasized that it is important to push ahead with and disseminate the idea of the "Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki". On the next day Pravda reported the talks with the same commentary. This would be the first time for the Soviet official media to deal with the "Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki" in this way, or comment on it as acknowledged by the General Secretary of the Party.

Comrade Shoji Niihara, who went to Moscow with us and who listened to the English radio news on the Moscow broadcast, said that the talks between Fuwa and Gorbachev were the top item of news, not only on the evening of the day when the talks were held, but also on the following day.

In my Presidium Report to the Fourth Plenum of the JCP Central Committee, I stressed that the JCP "will strive for further international development" of the "Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki" signature campaign. I am sure that the last session of the JCP-CPSU talks has paved the way for such a development.

— The achievements of the talks, as well as those of 1986 World Conference against A and H Bombs, are of great significance.

Of course I told the Soviet comrades about the successful 1986 World Conference against A and H Bombs. I explained that though held in Japan, the World Conference against A and H Bombs had not been able to support the "Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki" until this year, because the Socialist Party and the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) had opposed it. But they dropped out of this year's World Conference against A and H Bombs, so there was no reason to hesitate in adopting an appeal that called for spreading the signature campaign all over the world.

— What you have said has strengthened my conviction that the regular talks will be a great help in activating the peace movement all over the world. On other subjects, I hear that the discussions took up in some depth the relationship between the US-USSR negotiations and the anti-nuclear peace movement.

**OUR PROPOSAL: THAT A COMMITTEE BE SET UP
IN USSR-US NEGOTIATIONS TO NEGOTIATE ON THE
ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

Broadly speaking, there are two aspects to the implementation of the JCP-CPSU Joint Statement. One is how to stimulate the anti-nuclear peace movement involving directly both of our parties. The other is how to exert an influence on world politics such as in the USSR-US negotiations. Of course, of our two parties, only the Soviet Union is directly involved. Nevertheless, the JCP, a participant in world's politics, expresses its opinion and makes propositions to the Soviet Union in line with the JCP-CPSU Joint Statement, and in addition, the party has taken other steps. It sent an official letter to US President Reagan. In the afternoon session of these JCP-CPSU talks, I made a proposal designed to help overcome the stalemate in USSR-US negotiations, seen in the light of developments since last year. I said that although in the first USSR-US foreign ministerial talks in January last year the two powers agreed not only to deal with the three separate subjects, but also to make the "complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere" the objective of the negotiations, no negotiating table for this has yet been set up.

General Secretary Gorbachev had proposed that nuclear weapons should be eliminated within a fixed time-frame but in the JCP-CPSU talks, I frankly told the Soviet side that the proposed term, as well as the process leading to the elimination of nuclear weapons, should not be fixed; it should be accelerated by the development of the world-wide movement. Although the Soviet Union has made this proposal, no place has been determined where this proposal can be dealt with, the key to effectuating such a proposal.

I said also that in the usual pattern of negotiations on specific subjects, in which various proposals are made from both sides, they have eventually come to a stalemate. At such times the public is at a loss to know what the real situation is, and which side has reason on its side. This is why we propose that the initiative should be taken to set up a negotiation table, or that an independent committee be formed, whose main task is to negotiate the central issue, the

elimination of nuclear weapons; such a table is essential for mobilizing world opinion and putting the negotiations on the rails that can lead to relieving humankind of the threat of nuclear war, opening the way to the elimination of nuclear weapons.

At first, Comrade Ligachev seemed not to fully understand this new approach, and some CPSU comrades asked me some straightout questions. After some across-the-table discussion, however, I realized what points they found difficult to understand, so I gave a fresh explanation with these points in mind. While listening to it, the CPSU comrades, including those who had asked questions, began to indicate with nods that they grasped what I meant. Comrade Ligachev said, "It is understandable for you to worry about the present state of negotiations, and your proposal interests us. We would like to give it careful consideration as a comradely proposal." I felt that it was serious acceptance of our proposal.

**Our Impression on How the Soviets will Act
in Continuing Their Halt to Nuclear Tests**

Another topic relating to the question of USSR-US negotiations, the Soviet halt to nuclear tests, was also on the agenda in this session of the JCP-CPSU regular talks. Basically, the JCP considers that it is a rational demand to make, that all nuclear weapons countries abolish nuclear weapons, but have never demanded that the Soviet Union should take a unilateral initiative to give up such weapons. So after having made clear the JCP position, I added: "You decided to halt nuclear tests from August 6 last year, and have extended the halt even though the United States has continued testing. We deeply appreciate your attitude as an expression of your determination for the elimination of nuclear weapons, and most Japanese people note this with favor and sympathy."

General Secretary Gorbachev said that it had been difficult to make a decision. Any nuclear test at present is related to the development of new-type nuclear weapons. Even while we have stopped nuclear testing, the United States has continued to conduct such tests. It has conducted 15 nuclear tests during the period of our moratorium, each test linked to the development of new nuclear weapons, especially related to arms expansion into space. In these circumstances,

it needed great courage on our part to extend the halt. Now since August 6 the extended term has already expired, and what step we should take now is under consideration, still to be decided.

We paid a high tribute to the Soviet Union's refraining from taking counter-measures to the US nuclear tests as soon as the period of their halt had expired, and have continued the halt while considering what next step to take.

I told the press that I had an "impression" that the Soviet comrades seemed to be considering the issue in such a way as would meet the expectations of world opinion, and would not nullify the 12-month endeavor they had made, but strive to have their patience bear fruit. There was one reporter who asked me why I had such an "impression", but the decision the Soviets reach will become clear sooner or later, and the USSR Government will make an announcement on it.

— *What you told the Soviet comrades in these regular talks had already been made known to the CPSU by the letter we sent as well as from several articles published by Akahata. But questions and answers proved to be a very effective way of having the other side understand our position, didn't it?*

General Secretary Gorbachev Invited to Japan for the Next Regular Talks

Yes, I felt that very strongly. Of course, since our proposal itself was a completely new approach to the question, made from a different angle from the position of the Soviets, it was natural for them not to understand fully in one briefing. But I learned that if we make repeated explanations, understanding and taking up the points that are not clear to them, it was quite possible to have these points understood. Certainly, on this question we had exchanged letters with the Soviet Union, and published several articles in Akahata. These were very important, of course, but I myself felt strongly how valuable it is for the heads of the two parties to have direct dialogue on questions relating to the peace movement and world politics, because they are most responsible for such questions.

This is why, when General Secretary Gorbachev said "Now I have to leave" as the morning session was about to end, I made a proposal, and

based on it, the two parties confirmed that they learned through these talks how meaningful it is for the heads of the two parties to continue holding regular talks. When I invited General Secretary Gorbachev to Japan for the next session of regular talks, I cited a provision in the JCP-CPSU Joint Statement which says, "Both sides have agreed to continue the practice of.....holding regular talks.....alternating the place between the two countries."

— *How about the plan for Comrade Gorbachev to visit Japan (for talks with the Japanese Government), an issue claiming the greatest attention of the mass media?*

Before the talks began, Mr. Gorbachev spoke to the Japanese pressmen. In answer to them he said, "I feel it necessary to go to Japan." But I did not know that he had said this until after the talks ended.

But in the talks I suggested that he should accept two invitations, one from the Japanese Government and one from the JCP at the same time so that he can complete two tasks in one visit, rather than make two separate visits in a short period. His reply was, "I much appreciate your invitation", but the question will be how a schedule can be made. I believe the visit will be made sooner or later.

— *The talks bore much fruit in relation to the implementation of the Joint Statement. Would you take up some other questions?*

IMPORTANT REMARKS WERE MADE ON EQUAL
RIGHTS AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF EACH PARTY

These regular talks based on the Joint Statement were the first experience for both sides. So in this session of talks, both sides omitted explanations of their activities at home and abroad, such as has usually been done in other meetings between the two parties. I focused my report on the anti-nuclear peace struggle, with the general situation and other struggles in Japan referred to only as needed. In the press conference held after the talks, the reporters were surprised to know that I did not make any mention of the results of the recent Diet elections. But this enabled them to understand more or less the unusual character of our

regular talks based on the Joint Statement.

Of course, we were prepared for other questions of concern to the two parties, so that we could discuss them after the talks were finished dealing with the implementation of the Joint Statement. But because of the illness of Comrade Gorbachev, the circumstances did not allow us to go into thorough discussions on these issues.

Nevertheless views relating to a wide range of other questions were expressed even when the discussions were dealing with the main theme. For example referring to problems of the world communist movement, Comrade Gorbachev said that the communist movement takes different shapes in different countries, and should have nothing to do with ranking, violation of another party's independence, or an international center, and cooperation with it; the major theme should be the defense of peace, based on equality between the individual parties.

After his speech, I said that we attached much importance to his Political Report made at the 27th CPSU Congress in which he sternly opposed "hierarchy" in the name of unity, interference in another party's affairs, and the striving of any party to have a monopoly over what is right, emphasizing the need for cooperation based on equality. If this is strictly implemented, I said, it will narrow the differences between any two parties' positions on such questions. Comrade Gorbachev said promptly that they had formulated this after much study of the many years of experience of the communist movement, and that careful attention was paid to relations with the JCP. I found this a very interesting statement.

I said again that it was in this spirit that the two parties issued the Joint Statement, putting aside differences of opinion, such as differences on who is to blame for the nuclear arms race and what is the cause of it, and present relations have been established that make it possible to hold these regular talks. I am convinced that it is precisely this spirit that forms the character of the regular talks as well as the Joint Statement; in other words, this spirit is the key to present relations between the two parties, enabling the parties to give the developing cooperation on the central task of world peace, without shutting their eyes to differences of opinion between them.

During the discussions, as a matter of course we came across differences of opinion on such questions as Afghanistan and other international issues, the history of the nuclear arms race, and the so-called "strategic equilibrium". In spite of this, the two sides were able to go ahead with

the discussions, confirming agreed points without glossing over the differences.

Let me give you another instance. The cooperation of the two parties in accordance with the Joint Statement does not rule out discussions on those questions on which opinions differ. On the contrary, they think that as a matter of course, if the discussions enable them to broaden the area of agreement, the basis of cooperation will be correspondingly widened. So when the two sides discussed future relations between the two parties, with these merits in mind, I pointed out that the parties have one question that failed to be settled in the 1979 JCP-CPSU Joint Statement. In the talks of JCP-CPSU party heads in 1979, between JCP Central Committee Chairman Miyamoto and the then CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev, thorough discussions were held on the territorial question between Japan and the Soviet Union. Through these discussions, the two parties confirmed that they would continue to exchange opinions on the question of conclusion of a Japan-USSR peace treaty. When this was confirmed, the JCP side proposed that the question of Habomai and Shikotan Islands should be settled when an interim treaty is concluded, and the fundamental settlement of the territorial question should be made when a peace treaty is signed. The treatment of this proposal was put off, and therefore in the talks at this time I said that talks should be continued on this question as well as on other matters.

Deep Impression of Strong Desire for Peace among Leningrad Citizens

— *Your story, especially the part concerning the relationship between communist parties in the world, was very interesting. Would you speak about your impressions on visiting Leningrad, an unexpected opportunity due to the postponement of the talks?*

This was my second visit to the Soviet Union; the first was to attend the funeral of former General Secretary Chernenko, and my stay in Moscow at that time was very short. This time I happened to have unexpected free time, and I could use it to visit many places in Moscow, buying interesting books, and I also visited Leningrad.

I am going to speak about the details of my visit to Leningrad in an interview with Sunday Akahata, so here let me refer to it only briefly.

The most impressive thing in Leningrad was that the city has very strong hopes and determination for peace, because it was the most-seriously affected city during World War II. This big city with a population of three million put up a successful resistance for 900 days against the encircling German forces. In it some 600,000 died, mostly from starvation. I offered a bunch of flowers before the memorial to the victims.

Wherever we went, the people emphasized the importance of peace. In its opening phrases, the 1984 JCP-CPSU Joint Statement pointed out the importance of cooperation between the communist parties of Japan and the Soviet Union; the former "which suffered from the first nuclear weapons used in the history of humankind" and the latter which lost "20 million people in the struggle against fascism." It was on August 6 that I visited Leningrad. In talks with Comrade Y.F. Solovyev, First Secretary of CPSU Leningrad Provincial Committee and Candidate Member of the Politburo, I said that coming to Leningrad, the city that suffered the greatest loss of human life in World War II, on the day of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, was a symbolic occasion in the light of what the JCP-CPSU Joint Statement said, and the cooperation of the two parties in the cause of world peace. Comrade Solovyev agreed fully with me, and when I was about to say good bye, he said, "The internationalism of communists must be displayed first of all in the cause of peace."

Let me speak about one more impression I received in the visit to the Soviet Union. That is the people's one-month summer vacation. Some of the party officials who participated in the talks with us had just come back from their summer vacation—Comrade Ligachev had come back from his vacation a little early, and others were going to take their vacation after the talks were finished. When this question happened to be one topic at the airport on the day we arrived in Moscow, I asked them, "I hear that the summer vacation in the Soviet Union is 24 days, isn't it?". "You forget you must add Sundays", they replied.

In telling the Japanese audience of the superiority of socialism, I have often quoted this instance of "paid holidays"; they were first adopted by the Soviet Union and then introduced by the popular front government of France, after which they were expanded to other capitalist countries throughout the world. In the Soviet Union, as might be expected from the country that originated the summer vacation, they use it in a very substantial way. Party International Department officials who accompanied us said that they would go to a cottage in the woods some 300 kilometers away or to the Baltic Sea coast to spend their fruitful vaca-

tion deep in the bosom of nature. I felt that Japanese workers, called "workaholics", should wage a far more determined struggle to expand and improve their right to a proper vacation.

— I have heard a very useful story from you. Thank you.

IT IS THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE TO PRESERVE AND EXPAND THEIR HERITAGE

Opposing Every Attempt to Betray
the World Conference against A and H Bombs

Akahata, June 28, 1986

It is only a month to the 1986 World Conference against A and H Bombs. Continuing efforts are being made by those most directly concerned, but so far not even a definite schedule has been set. Briefly, the main and most direct obstacle to the holding of the World Conference against A and H Bombs is to be found in the maneuvers of the leadership of the bloc made up of the Socialist Party of Japan and the General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo). On a variety of pretexts they continue to oppose and obstruct the holding of a united 1986 World Conference against A and H Bombs, which should build on the success of the 1985 World Conference, surely the proper direction of advance.

What is their aim? Their aim is to betray and even destroy the tradition and achievements of the World Conferences against A and H Bombs in both form and substance. These conferences held every year in Japan, the A-bombed country, have always set forth the course for the present and future, focusing on banning A and H bombs, and on this basis have maintained high international status. To defeat these destructive maneuvers and defend the heritage of the World Conferences against A and H Bombs, and to ensure that this year's World Conference is successful in carrying out the international responsibility that rests not only on the people directly concerned but all the forces for peace and progress in Japan, is our task. Because it shares that responsibility, the Japanese Communist Party considers it necessary to present its views.

I

REPEATED PAST SYSTEMATIC ATTEMPTS BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SPJ-SOHOYU BLOC TO OPPOSE THE HOLDING OF THE CONFERENCE

Attempts to Take It Over by a "Forum" and Other Means

The "Japan Congress against A and H Bombs" (Gensuikin), the

anti-nuclear organization of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc, said in its "Summary" on the 1985 World Conference against A and H Bombs:

"Such a political 'World Conference', contented with issuing a document and reduced to a mere shell, can no longer be called a World Conference, and it should never be repeated.

"The World Conference held 'in unity' by the skin of its teeth, but was propped up by a very limited number of organizations....there was no guarantee of free and democratic discussions.... The Conference proved to be one that deviated far from solidarity that should exist in the peace movement, leaving behind a mark of dishonor and many questions on the future of the Japanese movement against A and H bombs.

"A fundamental review should be made on the formation and ways of joint actions at the World Conference at any rate, in order to avoid confusion. From this viewpoint, Gensuikin should daily expand joint actions and build up its subjective strength and active power."

A document distributed by Sohyo at its extraordinary Convention in February this year, entitled "Process and Summary of 1985 World Conference against A and H Bombs", said, "The essential point" of the 1985 World Conference was to go back to the original starting point of the movement, to gather a great number of people, and win the sympathy of the majority of the people by making it a Conference open to the people.....

"As the fundamental point, the consistent and logical claim (of Sohyo) 'to gather wide-ranging organizations and individuals, free from discriminations, selections and exclusions' was not adopted.

"This situation was....brought about by those which had already turned themselves into political organizations, which continuously interfered and intervened in the Organizing Committee of the World Conference against A and H Bombs. The 1985 World Conference ended in failing to propose any effective movement directed toward public opinion at both international and domestic levels.

"(As for the 1986 World Conference) All citizens' organizations, trade unions and individuals, who can agree on anti-nuclear, anti-war peace, should be called to form a grand organizing committee, to prepare a meeting and conferences open to the people."

The point found in common in these "summaries" is that the World Conference against A and H Bombs last year was extremely unsatisfactory to both "Gensuikin" and Sohyo, and that they are resolved not to let the same thing happen in the world conference this year.

The SPJ takes the same position. On the 1985 World Conference, "Shakai Shinpo" (Socialist organ paper of the SPJ—ed.) in its August 20, 1985 issue said:

"(the World Conference) failed to achieve the original aim of making it 'a movement gathering a wide range of people and easily understandable to everyone' worthy of the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombing. It went against the expectation of many people including Hibakusha (atomic bomb survivors)".

The SPJ Action Program for 1986 says, "The anti-nuclear disarmament movement in Japan is being vitalized, and it is under a strong urge to create such a new mode of movement as will be capable of uniting naive and fresh energy for peace, free of mannerisms of the movement.

This shows that the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc rejects the reactivation of the Organizing Committee of the 1985 World Conference against A and H Bombs and immediate preparation for the 1986 World Conference. Nor is that all. They are even trying to prevent the World Conference against A and H Bombs being held by holding "international events.....to replace" the World Conference, putting aside its long history and its continuation into the future.

A document issued by "Gensuikin" in May this year says, "A conference, such as we have in mind, should be a national joint action with a wide range of people.....which aims at forming a compound and multi-storied network, hand in hand with world anti-nuclear movements, for materialization of 'nuclear-free zones' in every corner of the world. For this purpose, a new framework of cooperation should be formed as a place for broad joint action, in which all organizations and individuals approving this objective can freely participate and develop democratic discussions. 'The Solidarity of Movements for Elimination of Nuclear Weapons' (translation from Japanese, which is called the "Network for Nuclear Disarmament" in English) which was called by 34 initiators on April 1 and held its first meeting of sponsors on April 21, in this sense will be capable of serving as the common framework that we aim at. We are ready to take active part in this discussion, and make efforts to bring into being international events to promote national joint action, to replace the old 'World Conference'. At present, we are beginning preparations to hold an International Forum and a 'National Congress' in Tokyo at some time between July 31 and August 3, in the assumption that the plans will be implemented". (Underlined by Akahata)

Coinciding with the "forecast" made by "Gensuikin", the "Solidarity

of Movements for Elimination of Nuclear Weapons", called "Solidarity" in its "2nd sponsors' meeting" on June 2 decided to hold an "International Forum for the International Year of Peace" and a "National Congress for the International Year of Peace" in Tokyo "around the end of July to the beginning of August". And in what they call a "working group" of "Solidarity" on June 20, it was decided to hold a "Gathering for International Year of Peace" and an "International Forum" on July 31 and August 1. (As with the "working group" meeting of June 6, the "Gathering" was called a "National Congress")

It is evident that the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc, on one hand opposing and obstructing the holding of the World Conference against A and H Bombs as formerly, and at the same time slyly maneuvering to utilize the plans of the two-month old "Solidarity", aims to replace the traditional World Conference with a "Gathering" and an "International Forum".

Same Maneuvers as Last Year

This year's maneuvers are not the first of their kind. In the preparations for last year's World Conference against A and H Bombs similar moves were made. In the preparatory committee and other processes in preparation for the 1985 World Conference, they rejected the principle of management by agreement, the principle of joint struggle, the composition of the Organizing Committee for the World Conference, and desperately delayed the inauguration of the Organizing Committee, putting up various pretexts. Because of this, the Organizing Committee was not formed until July 27, just before the World Conference was due to open. Discussions to expand the composition of the Organizing Committee with agreement by the parties concerned ended fruitlessly as time ran out because of these obstructive maneuvers. Those who must bear the responsibility for the delay in setting up the Organizing Committee are the same as those who postponed and disturbed the preparations for the 1985 World Conference.

In the course of this, the representatives of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc opposed the holding of the International Meeting of the World Conference against A and H Bombs, and asserted that "the International Meeting should be replaced by a forum from which no document should be adopted". On the question of management of the Organizing Committee, they argued that "a decision of the committee should be unanimous,

but a decision by a majority could also be adopted if no agreement is reached despite all efforts".

While attempting in this way to prevent the proper holding of the World Conference, they planned to hold last year what they called an "International Forum—Forty Years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki" in Tokyo on August 1 and 2, overlapping the World Conference schedule, in the attempt to substitute this for the World Conference if they succeeded in foiling plans for the World Conference. But in spite of their obstruction, the World Conference was held. They then had the invited foreign delegates participate not in the International Meeting of the World Conference (August 2 and 3) but in their so-called "International Forum".

For the International Meeting, the first event of the 1985 World Conference against A and H Bombs, which, overcoming obstructions, opened as planned, the tactics the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc used eventually was to boycott it. In addition, as it was clear that if they totally boycotted the World Conference they would become minority drop-outs, a few of their representatives attended the international meeting to avoid creating the impression that they were "dropouts".

The August 6 issue of "Shakai Shinpo" said (names omitted), "The representatives of the five organizations, all being representing members of the Organizing Committee of the World Conference, viz., the President of Sohyo, Representative Director of Gensuikin, Chairman of Goken Rengo (National Alliance in Defense of the Constitution), Chairman of Churitsu Roren (Liaison Council of Independent Trade Unions), President of Shin Sanbetsu (National Federation of Industrial Unions), canceled their participation in the International Meeting for the reason that 'representative members and steering members were reduced by a big margin from past years. Calling for the range to be widened, it was, on the contrary, narrowed and selections and exclusion were introduced'. Incidentally, the Secretary General of Gensuikin and some others attended the International Meeting".

Those of them who attended the International Meeting continued to oppose the drafting of a document by the meeting, but after they failed to get support, they charged that the draft document was "too political", and while refusing to attend the drafting committee, they took a complicated way by demanding deletion of its important part, acting through a foreign delegate who was asked to attend the committee.

As mentioned, "Shakai Shinpo" of August 6 treated the International Meeting of the 1985 World Conference very critically. In sharp contrast,

it played up the "International Forum—Forty Years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki" with a big photo and a title reading "Dialogue Irrespective of Differences in Thought and Creed, to Seek a Road to the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons".

The so-called "Forum" was only a temporary measure on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the atomic-bombing, initiated by Eiichi Isomura, chairman of the "National Council for Peace and against Nuclear Weapons" (Kakukin Kaigi), an "anti-nuclear" organization of the Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Socialist Party; Buichi Oishi, former LDP cabinet member; Koji Fushimi, Komeito member of the House of Councilors, and others. But this year, a new "Forum" is scheduled as a "Solidarity" plan, an organization formed in this April around these initiators of last year's "Forum". "Gensuikin" had even announced its plan to join "Solidarity" events even before the sponsors' meeting of "Solidarity" had decided on the events, supposing various scenarios, all of which shows how systematic their maneuvers are.

As quite a few official documents show, the intention of the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc is to lead the movement on an obviously different course, not seeking to make a success of the World Conference based on its great history. Looking at the process last year, it is quite clear that the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc aims to degenerate the whole World Conference to make it fit to their concepts, disrupting the forces that aim at holding a united World Conference, and if they fail in this, they will try to disturb the World Conference itself. Even a plan to abort the World Conference and to substitute "Solidarity" events is included in their maneuvers. To compromise or submit to their attempts at obstruction would only lead to the betrayal and dissolution of the World Conference.

II

BACKGROUND AND MOTIVE OF MANEUVERS— RIGHTWARD TURN OF SPJ AND SOHYO

Various maneuvers that would degenerate the movement against A and H bombs were seen in the 1984 World Conference and even before that. We do not take them up in detail but can cite some examples. Attempts are made to turn the Preparatory Committee of the World Conference into a permanent organization under the control of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc; to ban or restrict the carrying of flags of participating organizations in the peace march, an attempt to exclude the Conference

of Trade Unions for Promotion of a United Front (CTU-UF), which is not to their liking; and to denigrate the tradition and prestige of the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo) and the World Conference by intervening in personnel questions of Gensuikyo.

Why are such maneuvers repeated every year, centering on the World Conference against A and H Bombs? Its historical background is the deep-rooted anti-communism within the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc, and its associated sectarianism and hegemonist attempts. More specifically, it comes from the 1980 SPJ-Komeito agreement on the formation of a government, which raised anti-communism to a new level and has pushed the SPJ-Sohyo bloc to the right ever since then.

Historically Deep-Rooted Anti-Communist Sectarianism

The Socialist Party of Japan was founded in 1945 immediately after the end of the war. When it became the first party in the first general election under the new Constitution of Japan, the leftwing group of the SPJ, which until then had supported a united front with the JCP, issued an anti-communist statement saying that they would draw a line between themselves and the JCP. This gave them a chance to form a "grand coalition" government, and the Katayama and Ashida Cabinets were formed, with the participation of the SPJ and conservative parties. In 1948 the Ashida Cabinet deprived government workers of the right to strike and became the executor of repressions against the workers on behalf of the occupation forces.

At that time, the US occupation forces launched attacks on class-oriented and democratic trade unions, viz., the Congress of Industrial Unions (Sanbetsu Kaigi) and its affiliated unions, and there were mass dismissals especially of members and supporters of the JCP; corresponding to this there was a so-called "democratization" campaign, organized within those unions. Based on this, an anti-communist organization was formed in July 1950, with the direct support of the occupation forces, which was named the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo). The program of Sohyo specified anti-communism, claiming "prevention of the rise of totalitarianism either left or right".

In its party program adopted in 1955, the Socialist Party of Japan clarified its anti-communist stand, saying, "Communism virtually tram-

ples underfoot democracy, rejects human personality, freedom and dignity....."; and further, "We will overcome communism and carry out a socialist revolution in a democratic and peaceful way".

Under the pressure of the Japanese working class and other strata of the people who eagerly desire peace and progress, the SPJ-Sohyo bloc was engaged in joint struggles with the JCP, including the struggle in 1960 against the revision of the Japan-US Security Treaty, the struggle in 1964 against the Japan- Republic of Korea Treaty, the struggle from the 1960s to the first half of '70s in opposition to the US aggression in Vietnam and the struggle against mal-revision of the Constitution. They have also joined with the JCP in forming progressive local governments.

Though actively engaged in these struggles, for example, in the 1960 struggle against the revision of the Japan-US Security Treaty, the SPJ always rejected a direct joint struggle with the JCP and tried to reorganize the joint struggle body against the Security Treaty into part of the SPJ-led movements for "defense of the Constitution, democracy and neutrality". Sectarianism and hegemonism linked with anti-communism have thus repeatedly appeared in the SPJ-Sohyo bloc and become an obstacle in the development of the movement.

Root of the Split in the Movement against A and H Bombs

Most typical is what is seen in the peace movement. The reason why the peace movement in Japan has long been marked with splits is nothing less than the anti-communism, sectarianism and hegemonism of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc.

The movement in Japan against A and H bombs originated in the anger aroused by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the people's determination never again to allow such an indescribable tragedy. Its background is the experience of the movement against A and H bombs that defied the oppression under the US occupation, and the suffering caused by the hydrogen bomb test at Bikini Atoll in 1954; from this came the demand for a ban on atomic and hydrogen bombs that arose powerfully from the Japanese people, with 33.65 million signatures collected in a short time demanding the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs. Backed by such power and public opinion, the First World Conference against A and H Bombs was held in August 1955. Since the prohibition of nuclear weapons cannot be achieved without the mobiliza-

tion of world public opinion, it was natural that the conference in Japan, the atomic-bombed country, started as a world conference, bringing in overseas delegates. It was also natural for the conference to adopt such documents as the "Declaration" which expressed the determination of the participants and called on the world to ban A and H weapons.

The "Declaration" of the 1st World Conference said, "the forces planning to launch atomic war must be defeated", meaning nuclear war must be prevented; "prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs and destruction of such stocks", meaning total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons; and "relief for A and H bomb sufferers is urgently needed", meaning relief of A-bomb sufferers. As the original demand, these three points have been steadfastly maintained by the 31 World Conferences held up till last year.

The First World Conference was the occasion of the merging of various movements against A and H bombs in Japan into one. Immediately after the conference, the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo) was formed as the permanent organization that rallied the various organizations and groups. The annual World Conferences have been held since then under the sponsorship of Gensuikyo.

After the revision of the Japan-US Security Treaty in 1960, those people connected with the Liberal Democratic Party and Democratic Socialist Party dropped out of Gensuikyo and formed the "National Council for Banning Nuclear Weapons and Constructing Peace" ("Kaku-kin Kaigi") in 1961, charging Gensuikyo with "political and ideological deviations". Judging from the fact that this organization was formed with Shigeru Yoshida and Nobusuke Kishi, former LDP Presidents and Prime Ministers, among its top officers, it is clear that "banning nuclear weapons" is nothing more than an empty slogan for such an organization, which is virtually opposed to this aim.

Originally, the JCP, SPJ and Sohyo were affiliated with Gensuikyo, but history shows that due to strong anti-communist sectarianism and their hegemonist aim, the SPJ-Sohyo bloc then dropped-out and split the movement.

During the 9th World Conference, in 1963, they demanded an increase of Sohyo-oriented representatives in Gensuikyo and delegates to the conference from prefectural Sohyo unions. At that time they attempted to replace the World Conference with a National Conference. At the same time, they urged "opposition to nuclear tests by any country" and "support for the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty" to be made the "basic

principle" of the Conference.

The JCP made it clear that it did not support the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, but of course it did not ask the World Conference to oppose the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; it called for unity based only on agreed points. In the condition of both the JCP and the SPJ being major political parties affiliated with Gensuikyo, to deliberately propose and demand what could not be supported by the JCP, and which differed from the original point of the movement against A and H bombs and demand that this be made a "basic principle" was clearly anti-communist splittism. The leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc at that time tried to exclude the JCP from the movement that rallied broad-ranging public opinion in Japan and to establish their control" over it if chance favored them.

Contrary to their speculations, their concept was not accepted, so they boycotted the 9th World Conference and held a separate meeting to counter it. Then, in 1965 they formed the breakaway organization, "Japan Congress against Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb (Gensuikin)". This was the origin of the split in the Japanese movement against A and H bombs, and these facts make it clear where the responsibility lies.

The split alienated some people from the movement. For ten and some years after that, Gensuikyo consistently upheld the banner of unity, organized the annual World Conferences and developed international solidarity. As the 1978 First Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General Assembly was nearing, public opinion called strongly for the restoration of unity of the movement. Details of the proceedings cannot be gone into here, but in May 1977, backed by the rising public demand, an agreement was reached between Gensuikyo and "Gensuikin" which included (1) a unified World Conference would be held in August 1977 and (2) a great, nationally united organization would be formed within the year. Since 1977, the World Conferences have been held unitedly, which brought together wide-ranging youth, women and citizens' organizations.

But since 1977 "Gensuikin" has totally refused to implement the agreement on forming a "great, nationally united organization", and although the World Conference has been held in unity, the split of the movement against A and H bombs has not yet been overcome, and to this day the SPJ-Sohyo bloc leadership have been engaged in various attempts to control the united world Conference and bring it under their control, aiming to degenerate and disintegrate the World Conference. Behind all this is the rightward turn of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc.

Agreement between the SPJ and Komeito and Turn to the Right by SPJ and Sohyo

Talks were held three times between top-leaders of the JCP and the SPJ, in April 1976, June 1977, and June 1978, and documents exchanged, all of which specified that efforts would be made to form "a united front at national level with a long-term perspective". The June 1978 agreement stated as one of the tasks of joint struggle in and outside the Diet was "a total ban on nuclear weapons, opposition to the reinforcement of military strength of the Self-Defense Forces and abrogation of the Security Treaty". It also confirmed that they would in future "hold party summit talks when necessary".

On January 10, 1980, however, without consulting the JCP, the SPJ concluded an agreement on formation of a coalition government, in which it was clearly stated in the first part on "Political Principles" that the JCP would be excluded from consultations on any such government. The three agreements made with the JCP up till then were thus unilaterally scrapped. The mass-media has sometimes reported that bilateral relations between the JCP and the SPJ had been cut on the JCP initiative, but the facts are as stated above.

The agreement laid down the exclusion of the JCP from consultations on forming a government, without mention of the LDP. In the second part, on "Fundamentals and Outline of Policy", no "anti-LDP" statement appears. The abrogation of the Japan-US Security Treaty was defined as a "future" task to be achieved through diplomatic negotiations, saying that immediate efforts should be made to create an international atmosphere that would make this possible. It also specified that for the time being, "civilian control over the Self-Defense Forces, which contravene the Constitution, should be strengthened.

Whatever the future may be, as far as the present is concerned, the result of the agreement was to eliminate the sharpest point of political contention between the SPJ and the LDP, by reason of the turnabout made by the SPJ. At that time the SPJ attempted to offer an apology or counter-argument to the JCP when it criticized the SPJ for making a rightward turn, and charged the JCP as being "self-righteous", etc. One apology was that the JCP was excluded only from consultations on forming a government, not from mass movements, which would remain unchanged.

Developments in the past 6 years and more, however, have shown clearly what really happened, especially all the actions of the SPJ leadership since the emphasis was placed on the "New SPJ", actions dominated by the anti-communist rightward line being pursued in keeping with the SPJ-Komeito agreement. This covers all fields ranging from revision of the SPJ programmatic documents to its attitude towards specific bills before the Diet. The basis of the so-called New SPJ is the anti-communism premise, representing an orientation and process aimed at erasing the past progressive aspects of the SPJ not only from its fundamental policy and line but also from specific political responses, so that the party, with the idea of "coalition", can join an LDP-led government in both political and numerical terms.

SPJ General Secretary Tanabe in a speech made during the last gubernatorial election campaign in Kyoto, in which the SPJ joined with the LDP in supporting a common candidate, said, "A grand coalition should also be established at national level, gradually putting an end to the political monopoly of the LDP." The "grand coalition" of conservative and socialist parties, in some cases, including centrist ones, would be nothing more than conservative rule as seen in some European countries. In our country, the recent management of the Diet, centering on private consultations between parties and excluding the JCP, can be described as a "rehearsal" for a "grand coalition" of the LDP and the SPJ, with the result that in spite of the fact that the LDP is a minority in the House of Representatives, Nakasone politics of lying and deception has been able to force its way unchallenged.

For the SPJ to achieve a "grand coalition" with the LDP will depend to a great extent on its support base, in particular, developments in Sohyo. The reliance of the SPJ on trade unions has always been recognized both inside the party and outside. It was the Sohyo leadership that took the initiative and put pressure on the SPJ to bring about the SPJ-Komeito agreement. There are no conflicts within the SPJ-Sohyo bloc. What they call the reorganization and unification of trade unions being actively promoted, in which the Sohyo leadership joined with the Domei leadership, which is the support base of the DSP, is the trade union version of the "grand coalition" line of the LDP, the SPJ and other parties in the political sphere. This is not contrary to the fundamental line and policy of the LDP, but is oriented toward a trade union movement that will flatter them.

In the annual budgetary demands made on the government by the SPJ,

Komeito, the DSP and other parties, the reduction of military expenditure is completely excluded. In the current election campaign, Prime Minister Nakasone proudly mentioned as one of his achievements that worker strikes have ceased. At a ceremony of the National Founding Day, Domei President Usami took the lead in cheering and wishing the emperor long life. It is clear that the so-called reorganization of the trade union movement is an actual expression of the rightward turn of Sohyo.

The Rightward Turn and the Movement against A and H Bombs

It is abundantly clear that the impact of the SPJ-Sohyo rightward turn and plans for a "grand coalition" with the LDP are not limited to political life and the trade union movements in any narrow sense.

Despite the efforts of conscientious members of local SPJ organizations, joint struggles in local governments with participation of the JCP, SPJ and Sohyo-affiliated unions have greatly decreased. From 1981, the SPJ and Sohyo have dropped out of the October 21 united actions, which had continued from the 1960s for the abrogation of the Japan-US Security Treaty and other demands, and in which the two organizations and the JCP had participated. This was not a split but a dropout in the true sense of the word, because the SPJ-Sohyo leadership had lost its will to join mass actions at variance with the fundamental line of the LDP, in the form of either united or independent actions.

The field that covers the movement against A and H bombs is no exception. In 1981, the SPJ made a 180-degree turn in its attitude, from demanding the enactment of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles to opposing it, and this was brought into the World Conference against A and H Bombs the same year, with the result that enactment of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles has been deleted from the demands raised by subsequent World Conferences. In the 1982 Session of the Diet, however, when a draft resolution in the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament was being discussed, a strong request from the JCP that the word "ultimate" be deleted from the original draft that sought "ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons, an ardent desire of the people of Japan, the A-bombed nation", was accepted with the support of other parties.

After agreement was reached at the US-USSR Foreign Ministerial Talks in January 1985, on negotiations between the two countries with

the elimination of nuclear weapons as one of the objectives, although it was natural for the Japanese Diet as part of its duties to call for the earliest possible achievement of that objective, the LDP, SPJ, Komeito and DSP took quite an opposing attitude. A draft resolution of March 1985, unanimously prepared in conformity with the US-USSR agreement by the Japanese Parliamentary Association for the Promotion of International Disarmament, a supra-partisan inner-parliamentary group, strongly urged the two countries to proceed with negotiations leading to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. However, when it was submitted to the House of Representatives in the April-May session, the LDP, the SPJ, Komeito and the DSP proposed inserting the word "ultimate" before "complete elimination of nuclear weapons". Finally a resolution including their proposed amendment was forced through.

From the technological angle, there is no insuperable difficulty in eliminating nuclear weapons. The essential question is to achieve a political consensus on this. When the United States and the Soviet Union, the two major nuclear powers, for the first time in history made the elimination of nuclear weapons an objective of negotiations, it is very significant that the four parties deliberately called on the two powers for "ultimate complete elimination of nuclear weapons" instead of simply "complete elimination of nuclear weapons". This can mean nothing except that it is not necessary to achieve it quickly, contrary to striving to eliminate such weapons without delay. The resolution naturally means approval of the SDI plan for extending the arms race into outer space, on the claim that this would render nuclear weapons obsolete.

"Deception and Danger of Anti-Nuclear Movement", a pamphlet circulated inside the LDP, argues that US Tomahawks defending Japan are good nuclear arms, saying, "Absolute superiority of the United States over the Soviet Union in terms of nuclear forces will contribute to achieving world peace." It opposes the elimination of nuclear weapons as such, using Hitlerite demagoguery. "To eliminate nuclear weapons completely from the earth is to exterminate people who know how to make such weapons. Only Hitler can do such an extreme thing." This reveals the real intention of the LDP and Nakasone, who maintains that the Japan-US military alliance and the US "nuclear umbrella" are inviolable.

Nevertheless they are in no position to reveal their true intentions to the Japanese people. In the attempt to harmonize their intention with the people's feeling they use the expression "the ultimate elimination" of

nuclear weapons. It is very clear that the SPJ attitude that supported such a formulation in the Diet resolution represents complete submission to the LDP line.

In the 1985 session of the Diet, the SPJ, on its own initiative, tried to withdraw an Atom bomb Sufferers Relief Bill which had been submitted jointly by 4 opposition parties, including the JCP, for more than 10 years, without consulting this party, and blamed it for not supporting the move. Since the beginning of this year, the SPJ has excluded the JCP in submitting a joint proposal on this issue. The original bill included passages that called the successive LDP governments to account for refusing an inquiry into the US responsibility for the atomic bombings and disregarding the demand for state compensation for A-bomb sufferers, provisions that caused some wavering on the part of the SPJ in presenting the bill.

In June 1982, the then Sohyo General Secretary Tomizuka said that the movement against A and H bombs should be conducted in such a way that people of centrist parties and Domei would not call it an "anti-US" campaign. In October of that year, the then Sohyo Chairman Makieda said that they wanted to join hands with politicians who can be regarded as supporters of disarmament, whether they were conservative or progressive. The facts so far enumerated make it clear that these statements express their will for a "grand coalition" with the LDP in the movements against A and H bombs and for peace.

The movements against A and H bombs and for peace are perhaps one of the greatest obstacles to the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc moving ahead with their "grand coalition" with the LDP line.

With the SPJ turning rightward, those in favor of "ultimate" elimination represent the overwhelming majority of Diet members, which, in the light of various public opinion surveys, is an extremely distorted reflection of the will of the people. The overwhelming majority of the people are concerned about the violation of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles and want that the elimination of nuclear weapons should be achieved as soon as possible. This is especially so with supporters of the SPJ. For the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc to drop out of the movement against A and H bombs and for peace would mean an immediate end to the contradictions between the line of "grand coalition" with the LDP and the SPJ supporters, but it would also mean that the bloc as a whole would discard the cover of "peace and progress" and be deserted by most of its supporters.

Hence it is easy to see a growing speculation within the leadership of

the SPJ-Sohyo bloc seeking to change the movements for peace and against A and H bombs into one conforming to the line of "grand coalition" with the LDP, while staying within the movement, as one means of moving ahead along that line and at the same time keeping the support of the people. The rightist reorganization of the trade union movement, an important factor for forming a "grand coalition" with the LDP, depends on whether that speculation is successful or not. According to Tokyo Shimbun, December 5, 1985, General Secretary Yamada of the National Council of Trade Unions in the Private Sector (Zenmin Rokyo), a product of the rightist reorganization, said, "The successful unification of the movement (i.e., the rightist reorganization of the trade union movement) will depend on the peace issue." This reveals that promoters of the rightist reorganization see the development correctly in their own way.

"Disputes" and "confusions" that have arisen in the recent World Conferences have been caused basically by systematic maneuvers to change the movement to make it conform to the line of "grand coalition" with the LDP and rightist reorganization, whatever direct cause and reason they may offer. These maneuvers represent the total denial of the positive tradition and achievements of Japan's World Conferences against A and H Bombs. If by compromise they are left free, with a view to avoiding "confusions" and "disputes", it will lead inevitably to the "grand coalition" line and allow the rightist reorganization to go ahead, and above all, will destroy the traditions of the World Conferences against A and H Bombs.

III

TRADITIONS OF WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST A AND H BOMBS UNDER ATTACK

Consistent Demand for the Prohibition and Elimination of Nuclear Weapons

With the suffering caused by the hydrogen bomb test at Bikini Atoll providing the momentum, the first World Conference against A and H Bombs was held in August 1955, and called on the whole world for the "prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs and the destruction of stock-piles", that is, the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, as referred to in the earlier part of this article. The years of

1954 and 1955 were of very important international significance on the nuclear weapons issue.

After the War, the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were made known all over the world. This is shown by the fact that Resolution No. 1 adopted by the UN General Assembly in January 1946 stressed the need for the "elimination" of "atomic weapons", and the signature campaign around the Stockholm Appeal (March 1950) spread all over the world, and the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons became the widespread demand and an important question both in international politics and the mass movement for peace. Nuclear weapons were called "atomic weapons" at that time, and with the later appearance of hydrogen bombs, they are now lumped together as nuclear weapons.

But in spite of this world demand, the stockpile of nuclear weapons has been vastly increased. In September 1954, the Soviet Union made a disarmament proposal (known as the Vyshinski proposal) to the United Nations, which meant a change from the earlier Soviet attitude that gave priority to prohibiting and eliminating nuclear weapons to advocating the reduction of conventional armaments. From then, for 30 years no proposals or negotiations were made in international politics that took up directly the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. The demand for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons also disappeared from world peoples' movements, even including the World Peace Council, which came into being from the signature campaign for the Stockholm Appeal.

It was at that time that the first World Conference against A and H Bombs was held in Japan, the atomic bombed country, gathering representatives from across the world, in which a declaration was unanimously adopted resolutely demanding the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. In the following 30 years the annual World Conferences against A and H Bombs have never wavered in their demand for the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, one of the three original demands, along with the prevention of nuclear war and relief of the Hibakusha (A-bomb survivors). While the number of nuclear weapons has gone on increasing, the partial regulation of nuclear tests and setting an upper limit on nuclear arsenals were made the focus of discussion, but the World Conferences against A and H Bombs have consistently demanded the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Japanese people have reason to be proud of this uncompromising attitude. If the movement in Japan, the atomic bombed country, had

followed the general trend of world politics, the Japanese people could well have felt deep shame before the world for its lack of vision.

The torch of early post-war days has been handed on, and is still being carried for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, as represented by the Stockholm Appeal, etc. The Tokyo Declaration adopted in August 3, 1984, by the World Conference against A and H Bombs said,

"Prevention of nuclear war and the abolition of nuclear weapons have thus become the most crucial and urgent task that bears on the very survival of the entire human community. We must take action now in order to arouse overwhelming world public opinion and to surround and isolate those who threaten the people of the world with their nuclear arms".

It was some four months after the adoption of Tokyo Declaration that a Joint Statement was issued on December 17, 1984, at the summit talks in Moscow between the Japanese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Using terminology similar to the Tokyo Declaration, the JCP-CPSU Joint Statement said that the task of prevention of nuclear war and the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons is "urgent and vitally important for humankind, the central task of the anti-nuclear peace movement and of total world politics". It also stressed that if the actions of the world people "can isolate the forces that cling to nuclear weapons, they will exercise great power in opening a realistic perspective for a total ban and the elimination of nuclear weapons".

Then a mere 20 days later, in the US-Soviet foreign ministerial talks, an agreement was reached to begin negotiations that should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear arms.

This agreement did not declare that the elimination of nuclear weapons was the most important urgent task. The process of the US-USSR negotiations which began from March 1985, based on this agreement, also made it clear that the process of negotiations is neither simple nor smooth. Nevertheless, a total ban and elimination of nuclear weapons, the demand consistently upheld by the World Conferences against A and H Bombs every year, irrespective of the various moves of nuclear weapons possessing countries, is at last reflected in world politics and reference to such elimination was made in the US-USSR joint statement 30 years after that first World Conference.

As has been mentioned, what is needed before everything else for totally banning and eliminating nuclear weapons is a political consensus to be reached on this aim by the nuclear-weapons states and other countries. In achieving this, a new condition has been brought about by the movement of these 30 years.

Responding clearly to the objective situation, the Appeal from Hiroshima to the World Peoples, adopted in the International Meeting of the 1985 World Conference against A and H Bombs with the support of all delegates, including representatives from the Soviet Union and China, said:

"The prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons should be made the most urgent task that bears directly on the survival of all life.

"We call on the Geneva US-Soviet negotiators and all governments to conclude a binding agreement that prohibits research, development, testing, production, possession, stockpiling, deployment, proliferation and use of nuclear weapons, including weapons in space."

The declaration adopted by World Peace Council in its April session defined the elimination of nuclear weapons as "a vitally important and urgent task for all humankind" and clearly made this its demand. In this same context, the World Conference against A and H Bombs this year must build on and carry forward the achievements of the World Conference of last year. This is not only the desire of the Japanese people but also an international duty and responsibility of the World Conference against A and H Bombs. If we retreat from this, the Japanese movement and the Japanese people will be severely called into account by future world history.

Attacks and Distortion of Demand for Eliminating Nuclear Weapons

As their original names in Japanese indicate, the objective of the movement against A and H bombs and the World Conference against A and H Bombs (which in Japanese, mean literally the movement and the World Conference for banning atomic and hydrogen bombs—tr.) is to prohibit A and H bombs. From this one position, those who attack the demand for a total ban and the elimination of nuclear weapons and

intentionally try to make this an "ultimate" goal to be achieved at some indefinite future, cannot be called anything but attackers and obstructors of the movement against A and H bombs and the World Conference. Still more, when the task of complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons has been revived in the arena of world politics and the movement after a long interval of 30 years, and when its urgent materialization is demanded, those who attack this aim and its urgency, and intentionally distort it, cannot be other than the worst type of obstructors.

But the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo-"Gensuikin" bloc take just that stand.

Immediately after the 1984 World Conference against A and H Bombs in which the Tokyo Declaration was adopted, "Labor News" (Rodo Shinbun), organ paper issued by the Education and Propaganda Bureau of Sohyo, carried comments by Yoshikiyo Yoshida, a subversive element who betrayed Gensuikyo in 1984, attacking the Tokyo Declaration, saying "There is a strong indication that expresses the leaning toward fundamentalism in the total prohibition of nuclear weapons.....with arguments biased".

The "Summary of the 1984 World Conference" issued by "Gensuikin" in September 1984 said,

"The inclusion of the words 'the total prohibition of nuclear weapons' does not mean that the policy of the Japanese Communist Party for the 'total prohibition of nuclear weapons' is the authorized base of the movement against A and H bombs".

"Shakai Shinpo", organ paper of the SPJ, in the August 7, 1984 issue carried a gist of the Tokyo Declaration from which the part referring to the total prohibition of nuclear weapons is omitted. The subsequent August 17 issue carried an article of a reporters' discussion meeting which said,

"Though Gensuikyo and others have claimed that 'the total elimination of nuclear weapons is an urgent task that we face', the Japanese side failed to refer to specific tasks in attaining it."

The document of "Gensuikin", the break-away organization, uses the most outspoken expressions; but what is common to these documents is that they attack the task of the total prohibition and elimination of

nuclear weapons, a common demand of the nation in its true sense, alleging that this is a partisan claim of the JCP, a "biased" argument. It should be recalled that their representatives, after some complicated process, took part in the 1984 World Conference against A and H Bombs and that they agreed to the "Tokyo Declaration". Their argument is therefore not only a brazen attack on the most vital tradition of the World Conferences against A and H Bombs, but also shows how unreasonably they attack for the sake of attacking from their anti-communist splittist position. It also shows the extraordinary attachment they have to the degeneration and disintegration of the World Conference against A and H bombs.

Since the 1984 World Conference against A and H Bombs, which adopted the Tokyo Declaration, a big advance has been seen in world politics relating to the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. This includes the JCP-CPSU Joint Statement and the Joint Statement from the US-USSR foreign ministerial talks. Responding to this new situation, the Appeal from Hiroshima to the Peoples of the World was unanimously adopted by the 1985 Conference against A and H Bombs.

Against this background, the leadership of the Sohyo-"Gensuikin" bloc had lost all grounds for their attack on the question of the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. The "Summary" by "Gensuikin" says, "The 'World Conference' has been turned into a political convention that has lost the substance, doing nothing more than issuing a bit of a document." "The Summary of Development" by Sohyo also says: "It has been isolated from the people because of its excessive preoccupation with the wording of the 'Appeal' and other documents". The course of the events have thrown into sharper relief the unreasonableness of the attacks they made in the previous year.

This year, it is "Solidarity of the Movement for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons", referred to in Chapter I of this article, that they are planning to use as the main stronghold for their obstructing and splitting maneuvers on the 1986 World Conference against A and H Bombs.

The "Call for Solidarity of the Movements for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons", serving as the basis for launching an organization called "Solidarity", on the basic goal and character of "Solidarity" says,

"In the year 1986, the International Year of Peace, we appeal for all individuals and organizations seeking the elimination of nuclear

weapons to join hands widely on the sole point of the elimination of nuclear weapons, and specifically launch joint efforts. For that purpose, we call on all individuals and organizations seeking the elimination of nuclear weapons.....in organizing forums on crucial occasions....." (Underlined by Akahata)

Those who up to 1984 were charging that the call for the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons is "fundamentalism", "biased argument", "line of the JCP" and "not an authorized base of the movement against A and H bombs", are now expressing their agreement with "Solidarity" in joining hands "on the sole point of the elimination of nuclear weapons", as though they are ready to rush to join it.

Have they admitted their errors and reformed? Not at all. Now that the task of the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons is on the agenda of world politics and the movements of the world as a result of the efforts of the Japanese movement and the World Conferences against A and H Bombs during these more than 30 years, any movement that puts its emphasis on "the sole point of eliminating nuclear weapons" must be seen as a backward step from the point reached by the Japanese movement and in the light of world developments, only to cause confusion in the movement.

As events relating to the Diet resolutions referred to in Chapter II, make clear, the real focal point in relation to the question of eliminating nuclear weapons now is whether in mere lip service to make this an "ultimate task", putting it off to some indefinite future, and even approving the present nuclear arms buildup, or to press the governments of nuclear-weapons possessing and other countries urgently to form a political consensus for that purpose.

This article has already referred to a leaflet circulated inside the LDP, alleging that US nuclear weapons are "good" and demanding that the United States have "absolute superiority" over the Soviet Union in terms of such weapons. Prime Minister Nakasone, President of that party, internationally shows a strong face in playing the role of standard bearer for the nuclear arms buildup, but at times feels compelled to put on a "soft face" on this question before the people claiming that he is more eager than the JCP in demanding the "elimination of nuclear weapons".

As were confirmed by the documents of the international meetings of the World Conferences last year and the year before last, to uphold the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons as the "urgent task"

will make it possible to corner those forces who, though paying lip service to the elimination of nuclear weapons, actually want to postpone it to an indefinite future. It will help mobilize public opinion. In this way the tradition of the Japanese movement against A and H bombs can be carried on and developed. Those who deliberately oppose making the elimination of nuclear weapons an "urgent task", saying that people should be rallied on "the sole point of the elimination of nuclear weapons" are trying to split and obstruct the Movement and the World Conference against A and H bombs, to the point of degenerating and disintegrating it.

Tasks of Prevention of Nuclear War and Relief of Atomic Bomb Sufferers

Along with achieving the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, the two other tasks, viz., prevention of nuclear war and relief of the hibakusha (atomic bomb sufferers), have been consistently advocated by the movement against A and H bombs as its "original demands".

Naturally, the movement based on the demand for "No more Hiroshimas or Nagasakis" concentrates every effort on preventing the use of nuclear weapons, i.e., nuclear war, resolutely demanding the abolition of all nuclear weapons from the earth. It is also natural for the movement to do everything possible for relief of the hibakusha, sharing their pain and suffering as its own.

The World Conference against A and H Bombs has been giving specific attention to these tasks in accordance with the changing situation in each respective period. Irrespective of whether or not documents adopted by the World Conference are favorable to those who are pushing a policy in favor of military blocs backed by nuclear weapons, or who are persistently obstructing and rejecting the enactment of an A-Bomb Sufferers' Relief Law, to charge that the movement is therefore "political" or "biased", is a total denial of the original demands of the Movement against A and H Bombs.

Let us quote the passage from the "Appeal from Hiroshima to the peoples of the World" that deals with the two original demands.

Referring to the prevention of nuclear war, it says,

"In order to prevent a nuclear war and achieve the elimination of nuclear weapons, we call on the peoples of every country to strengthen

their support and solidarity with the movement for a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, including the first use, a total ban on nuclear tests, against deployment of nuclear arms or forces, for the removal of foreign nuclear bases, against port-calls of nuclear equipped warships, and for the establishment and enlargement of nuclear free zones in Asia, the Pacific and Europe, and to prevent the nuclear arms race being expanded to outer space, such as by 'Star Wars' (SDI).

"The confrontation of military blocs and military suppressions are major factors in the intensifying nuclear arms race, and increase the danger of nuclear war. We express our deep concern over the growing danger created by the Japanese government which, under the US-Japan military alliance permits the violation of its three non-nuclear principles: not to produce, possess or allow nuclear weapons to be brought into Japanese territory. We call on the world's people to demand the dissolution of all military alliances and military blocs."

Referring to aid to hibakusha, the Appeal said:

"Recognizing that aging hibakusha urgently need aid and an immediate measure by the government providing state compensation, we call on people all over the world to unite in helping the surviving victims in Japan to get a proper 'aid law' enacted at the earliest."

Every part of these sentences has an important meaning which is supported by the more-than-thirty-year history. Every part has the support of the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people.

If we disregard, make light of or retreat from the achievements so far accomplished on these issues on the pretext that the movements should concentrate on "the sole point of the elimination of nuclear weapons", it would be a gross mistake that will betray the long tradition of the Japanese movement against A and H bombs.

Meaning of "Forum" or "Broad Gathering"

As we have said, the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc is maneuvering to replace the World Conference against A and H Bombs with a "gathering" or "an international forum" planned by what is called "Solidarity".

The attempt to replace the World Conference with a "Japanese Conference" was also part of the 1963 maneuvers to split the movement, turning it into a "Forum", a meeting for discussion without adopting any

document, even when delegates gather from all over the world.

The importance of the tradition since the first World Conference is to take up the task of the earliest possible elimination of nuclear weapons along with the other tasks, to draft documents by consensus that set out the proper tasks and the direction of the anti-nuclear movement of the world's peoples to go ahead and issue a call to the world.

After all, those who oppose this tradition have gone so far as to call off the whole thing, as their obstructions and degenerating maneuvers have proved to be unsuccessful.

They recently formed a new divisionist organization which they called an "anti-nuclear committee of 1,000" as the easiest way to call the whole thing off, even while stepping up maneuvers to systematically sabotage the heritage of experiences of the World Conferences against A and H Bombs accumulated through past years. The most typical example of this was that, after the dissolution of the preparatory committee for the '84 World Conference, the Sohyo-Gensuikin bloc opposed the switch over to "the Liaison Conference against A and H Bombs" as a "transient measure" until formation of the preparatory committee for the '85 World Conference.

The Sohyo-"Gensuikin" bloc is calling for "uniting broad-ranging organizations and individuals, free from all discriminations, selections and exclusions" and "a conference open to the people". There is only one aim in this: to undermine the principle of unity of broad-ranging forces based on consensus forming, established by the movement against A and H bombs in the past, trying to justify their maneuvers for degenerating and splitting the organization.

Speaking of "broad unity" in the movement against A and H bombs, nuclear weapons are not a monster which acts according to its own wish or is handled by some E.T. Such weapons are produced, deployed and planned for use by human beings and their groups on the earth, and since the movement against A and H bombs aims at stopping the use, prohibiting the production and eliminating the stockpiles, mere breadth that is not premised on setting out the correct tasks by which to attain these objectives, has no meaning. Without the accumulated heritage of the movement against A and H bombs over 30 years and more broad unity cannot be achieved.

In this respect, it may be true that the door of "Solidarity", stressing "the sole point is the elimination of nuclear weapons", is wide open. This is clear from the fact that the list of its sponsors and supporters include

representatives of the four labor organizations that are promoting the rightist reorganization of the labor front, representative persons of the New Liberal Club (one of the ruling parties in the Nakasone cabinet) and the chairman of the "National Council for Peace and against Nuclear Weapons" (Kakukin Kaigi), which is dominated by the LDP and DSP. Even Prime Minister Nakasone's name can be added to the list, and of course, the Japanese Communist Party could also participate since the JCP is not opposed to "the elimination of nuclear weapons". What kind of united action then is possible between Premier Nakasone and JCP representatives? It is clear that as the call of "Solidarity" itself aptly says, it can be nothing but a place for discussion, which at best will be endless.

What their aim is becomes clear when we put together the claim for "broad unity" made by the obstructionists and splitters and their statement on tasks. Their true aim is to make the task vague and abstract, separating it from the achievements of the movement, to form a so-called "anti-nuclear movement" and "peace movement" in which everyone can take part, but from which no consensus for specific and effective policy and action can ever be produced.

IV CONCLUSION

The thirty and more years tradition of the World Conferences against A and H Bombs has been clearly embodied in a number of basic statements in the "Appeal from Hiroshima" adopted by the International Meeting of the World Conference last year. They can be supported by wide-ranging people of good-will all over Japan. Based on these, an important duty is for all Japanese progressive and democratic forces to overcome all obstructions and work for the success of the 1986 World Conference against A and H Bombs.

The obstructions, in line with the idea of "grand coalition" with the LDP and the rightward reorganization of trade unions, are deliberate and systematic. The tradition of the movement against A and H bombs, accumulated over 30 years, is vigorously alive among wide strata of the people. In defiance of oppressions from the government and the Liberal Democratic Party, local governments that have declared themselves "nuclear free" are increasing, and the people living in areas under such

administrations total more than half of the population of Japan. Japanese people who have signed the Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki now exceed 20 million. Most of the sincere SPJ members and supporters want to see the advance of the movement against A and H bombs, not its retreat and confusion. This is also true of the overwhelming majority of workers belonging to Sohyo-affiliated unions. In this is the firm guarantee of the defeat of obstructionist maneuvers.

THERE IS THE ONLY WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST A AND H BOMBS

— What False Reports about "Split" Imply—

Akahata Editorial
August 1, 1986

The 1986 World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs opens on August 2 under the sponsorship of the Organizing Committee. The International Conference on August 2 - 3 in Tokyo will be followed on August 4-6 by the World Conference in Hiroshima, and Gatherings in Nagasaki on August 8-9.

From July 31 in Tokyo, "Network for Nuclear Disarmament" (The Japanese name for that organization can be translated as "Solidarity of Movements for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons",—ed.) is meeting for an "International Forum" with some 250 people participating. On August 5, a peace rally will be held in Hiroshima by some "citizen" organizations.

The Only World Conference Carrying Over the Tradition

In describing these circumstances, some press reports are playing up a split in the World Conference against A and H Bombs, and there is even information being circulated about two or three World Conferences to be held. These are all false reports, or nothing less than misinformation produced purposefully.

To begin with, there is the only gathering with the name of "World Conference", one that is sponsored by the Organizing Committee of the 1986 World Conference against A and H Bombs. This alone clearly shows the fallacy of the reports and information that would make people believe that the World Conference is split or that there are plural World

Conferences going to take place. The fact and the sequence of events are an eloquent testimony that there is only one World Conference against A and H Bombs this year, and there can be neither "splits" nor "parallel conferences".

In Japan, the only country to suffer nuclear attacks, the World Conference against A and H Bombs has been held every year since 1955 standing firmly for the Japanese people's earnest wish; last year it was the 31st World Conference. From the outset the name has been "The World Conference against A and H Bombs" (literally, the English for the original Japanese name is "The World Conference for a Ban on Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs"). This clearly identifies the major goal of the World Conference.

It is natural for the conference to have been a World Conference with delegates from overseas attending, since the banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs (=nuclear weapons) is not only Japan's national task but a great task to be tackled internationally. It is also logical in the light of the character of the conference, that the International Meeting of the World Conference so far has adopted documents showing the peoples of the world the direction the international and national movements should take, based on the points agreed upon in attaining the goal.

All the thirty-one World Conferences held so far have been all like that. The documents adopted unanimously in these conferences have always held firm the three tasks as the starting point of the movement, viz. prevention of nuclear war, a total ban on nuclear weapons and the relief of the Hibakusha (atomic bomb survivors); these tasks have been put forward in accordance with the specific situation of the time.

The World Conferences against A and H Bombs which have been carried on in this way with the form and contents as stated above, have played an important role in frustrating US plans to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam and the Middle East and in creating the situation in which the Japanese conservative government, while totally supporting the US nuclear strategy, has been obliged to pledge the strict observance of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles (not to possess, produce nuclear weapons and/or allow them to be brought into Japan).

More importantly, even when both politics and the movements in the world began in the late 1950s to almost disregard the task of the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, the World Conference was consistent in calling for this fundamental task. Thanks to this effort of the World Conference, the prohibition and elimination of nuclear

weapons are being revived nowadays as the task of world politics and the peace movements in the world, and this has raised the prestige of the World Conference against A and H Bombs.

The World Conference of last year, with the Soviet and Chinese delegates among overseas delegates from 37 countries representing a population of more than two billion, adopted the Appeal from Hiroshima to the Peoples of the World which said that the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons should be made "the most urgent task that bears directly on the survival of all life". Having been put into practice during the past year, the Appeal proves actually very instrumental in strengthening public opinion calling for the elimination of nuclear weapons in international arena.

All this testifies to the positive tradition and significance of the World Conference. Nevertheless, "Gensuikin (Japan Congress against A and H Bombs)", an anti-nuclear organization under the control of the Socialist Party of Japan and Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan) and some other groups which had taken part in the World Conference up to last year continued to try desperately to deteriorate and even disintegrate the positive tradition of the World Conference. These plans, however, all ended in failure, and consequently on July 10 they declared that they would not participate in the World Conference this year. The Sohyo leadership on July 15 shared the same way. The reason of their boycott of the World Conference is, after all, that they cannot impose their ways on the Conference.

Behind this attitude there is the political line of the leadership of the SPJ-Sohyo bloc seeking to enter into "alliance" with the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) forces. The long-time ruling party in Japan, the LDP supports the US nuclear strategy in conformity with the Japan-US military alliance. An LDP's internal document even goes so far as to insist that the elimination of nuclear weapons will "destroy peace" and praises the US nuclear cruise missile Tomahawk. The leadership of the Sohyo-SPJ bloc in the 1980s, virtually threw away what they had maintained as their plan for a government replacing the LDP, and instead began to strive for a "coalition" with the LDP forces. This has made them approach and fall in line with the LDP. This attitude naturally has come to the extreme of contradiction with the positive tradition of the World Conference against A and H Bombs, and this led them to admit that they will drop out from the World Conference.

It was in these circumstances that 60 representatives of the Japan

Council against A and H Bombs (Gensuikyo), the Japan Peace Committee, the Japan Scientist Association, the Liaison Council of Religious NGOs and other organizations on July 17 decided to convene the 1986 World Conference, preserving the positive tradition and the agreements reached so far, and to this effect set up the Coordinating Committee for Preparation of the World Conference. Sohyo, "Gensuikin" and some other organizations which had been called upon to join, failed to attend the Coordinating Committee. The efforts made by the Coordinating Committee led to the establishment on July 30 of the Organizing Committee of the World Conference with the broad participation of 119 persons in various fields and 90 different organizations. Thus the World Conference will be held from August 2 by this Organizing Committee. As of July 30, 104 people from 33 countries, including representatives of 19 international organizations expressed their desire to take part in the World Conference. It is clear in all respects that this is the only one World Conference that will carry over the positive tradition.

Arguments about "Split" only Serve to Justify Disturbances

"Gensuikin" and some other organizations which dropped out of the World Conference are meeting in an "International Forum" of "Network for Nuclear Disarmament". They put up the slogan "elimination of nuclear weapons", not as the "most urgent task" but only as an "ultimate task", thus enabling even those who affirm for the time being the nuclear arms race to join them in "free discussions". Neither the form nor the contents of the "Forum" can replace the World Conference against A and H Bombs. Clearly not even a fragment of the positive tradition of the World Conference exists in their "Forum". Representatives of some "citizen" organizations which were part of the World Conference until last year, followed the leadership of the Sohyo-SPJ bloc dropping out of the World Conference. They finally failed to stand for the reasonable position that all organizations and individuals that want to preserve the tradition and agreements of the World Conference, should unanimously cooperate in unity to convene the World Conference so that the Japanese movement may fulfil its duty. This is how they came to be submissive to the dropouts. It is needless to say that the meeting to be held with the participations of these "citizen" organizations is far from a "world

conference".

The existence of those who formally declared dropout of the World Conference and of their followers, as well as holding of some events with these people participating, do not mean a split in the World Conference or parallelism.

The only World Conference that is following the positive tradition of and the agreements at past World Conferences, is about to take place, defeating sabotages and with the broadest sections of the people attending. Talk about "split" or something like that, necessarily be part of disruptive maneuvers against the World Conference. It is nothing but an attempt to put the line of those dropouts in a favorable light.

A NON-NUCLEAR GOVERNMENT TO SAVE JAPAN FROM THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR

Proposal from the Japanese Communist Party

Akahata, June 17, 1986

From the time of the postwar total occupation of Japan by the US armed forces, the Japanese Communist Party, in its role as vanguard of the only atomic bombed country, has called for prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons, making this central in its program, an issue that is now on the actual agenda of world politics.

A joint statement was issued by the January 1985 talks held by the Foreign Ministers of the United States and the Soviet Union which, for the first time in postwar history, laid down as the objective of negotiations between the two countries, the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. In December 1984 a joint statement from the meeting of the Japanese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stated that the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons is a primary task for present world politics, that the elimination of such weapons be given top priority in the United Nations, in bilateral negotiations and other international conferences, as well as in the anti-nuclear peace movements of the world, a task to which the two parties committed themselves for its implementation. In April 1st, Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Kornienko said that the agreement on the complete elimination of nuclear weapons reached at the Foreign Ministerial talks had been confirmed as a political consensus by the US-Soviet Summit in November. A statement was issued by CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev in January this year, proposing that nuclear weapons be eliminated within a definite time span, though with some open questions relating to the specified term and the steps proposed.

The accident at the Soviet Union's Chernobyl nuclear power plant, added to the accident at the Three Mile Island plant in the United States, are a warning to the world on the danger of radioactive pollution. In reviewing the accident, CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev said, "The accident shows again what an abyss will be opened if nuclear war befalls

mankind.....our proposals for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.....meet those inexorably stringent demands which the nuclear age makes on the political leadership of all countries." On June 4, US Secretary of State Schultz said, "The recent events only underline the importance of getting at the essential thing, namely, reducing these damn things (nuclear warheads) and in the end, getting them out of the way."

In the anti-nuclear peace movements of the world, linking local measures for the prevention of nuclear war, including stopping the deployment of nuclear weapons and the withdrawal of weapons already deployed, the movement for the total elimination of nuclear weapons is expanding. But with the elimination of nuclear weapons now a central issue in international politics, the Reagan Administration is trying to evade the issue, on the pretext that the Strategic Defense Initiative will render nuclear weapons obsolete. World developments over the past year and a half have shown clearly that, twists and turns notwithstanding, the movement for preventing nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons is developing with certainty. To eliminate nuclear weapons and set the world free of the threat of nuclear war is the earnest hope and expectation of the people of Japan, the only people to have suffered bombing with nuclear weapons. The JCP has constantly affirmed that to seriously tackle the issue of the elimination of nuclear weapons and save Japan from the danger of becoming a nuclear battlefield is the essential criteria by which to judge whether each party fulfills its responsibility for the people.

Why Is the Nakasone Cabinet Labelled Pro-Nuclear?

The Nakasone Government is a "pro-nuclear" government, as the JCP says, because more than any LDP government of the past it maintains a pro-nuclear stand.

The Liberal Democratic Party, of which Prime Minister Nakasone is president, has published a pamphlet with the astonishing title "The Declaration of Nuclear-Free City Harms the Peace of Japan". It irresponsibly says that the elimination of nuclear weapons would destroy the peace of Japan. It is hostile to the movement for the elimination of nuclear weapons, charging that the movement is based on an unrealistic and dangerous illusion. The LDP issued an instruction to try to stop local governments declaring themselves nuclear-free.

In reply to questioning in the Diet over nuclear-weapons issues, the

Nakasone government makes it a rule to defend the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, claiming that nuclear weapons are necessary for keeping the peace, and among enthusiastic and loyal supporters of this doctrine the Prime Minister takes first place.

The Nakasone government plays a dangerous international role in this respect too. Contrary to the earnest desire of the people, the LDP government, under Nakasone's leadership, has not only failed to raise the issue of elimination of nuclear weapons in the United Nations and its related organizations, but with West Germany and the United Kingdom submitted a draft resolution to the UN General Assembly in the 1985 session that would permit the first use of nuclear weapons, a repetition of what had been done in the previous session. Nakasone's representative abstained from voting on the resolution, "Prevention of Nuclear War", submitted by India, Yugoslavia and other non-aligned and neutral states, and voted against the "Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons and Prevention of Nuclear War" resolution submitted by Cuba and other states. It has always voted against or abstained from resolutions on effective measures that could lead to the prevention of nuclear war, the elimination of nuclear weapons and their total prohibition. On this subject, the Japanese government belongs to a very small minority in the United Nations, about one-tenth of the number of states that support non-nuclear resolutions. At the Williamsburg Summit in 1983, Prime Minister Nakasone openly challenged the anti-nuclear movements of Europe by supporting the deployment of US intermediate-range weapons in NATO countries. In the 1985 Bonn Summit, he expressed "understanding" of the US Strategic Defense Initiative, which would extend the nuclear arms buildup into outer space, and in this April he appointed a council of 5 ministers to consider SDI, claiming that SDI conforms to Japan's concept of an exclusively defensive posture, aiming, after the coming elections, to make an official decision for Japan to join in the research and development of SDI.

What about Japan's Three Non-Nuclear Principles, not to possess, produce or allow nuclear weapons into Japan? These are being robbed of all substance by Prime Minister Nakasone, who continues to allow port-calls of US nuclear submarines and other warships carrying Tomahawk nuclear missiles, and the deployment of F16 nuclear-capable fighters at the Misawa Base in Aomori Prefecture; he refuses to ascertain whether or not they carry nuclear arms, even claiming that the presence of such arms, as is suspected, is permissible under the theory of deterren-

ce. In the Budget Committee of the House of Councilors on November 6, 1985, Prime Minister Nakasone stated that the Security Treaty is fundamental, but the Three Non-Nuclear Principles are merely an application. In defiance of the growing public opinion for a non-nuclear Japan, he is going ahead with the emasculation of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles which the successive LDP Governments before his were obliged to declare as the national principle of Japan.

Since Nakasone took power, the reinforcement of nuclear bases has been accelerated, and now the Prime Minister is pushing for Miyakejima islanders to allow the construction of an air base there for night landing training for nuclear-attack aircraft borne by the US carrier Midway, and for housing facilities for US Naval personnel at Zushi. Japan-US joint operations are being planned, with the aim of using Japan's Self-Defense Forces to support the United States in the event of nuclear war, with Japan's Self-Defense Forces escorting US nuclear-arms carrying warships and providing information for the US Forces from Japan's P3C maritime patrol aircraft.

Consistent with the unprecedented development of Japan as nuclear base under the Japan-US joint nuclear operational plan, in reply to an interpellation in the Diet, Prime Minister Nakasone approved the possible first use of nuclear weapons by the US Forces. In February last year, he gave official approval for the first use of nuclear weapons by the United States, claiming that Japan is not in a position to reject such a possibility. He also admitted that it was possible for the United States to use nuclear weapons in joint operations between the two countries, saying that consultations would be held in accordance with agreements on Japan-US joint operations.

Prime Minister Nakasone has sometimes referred to the elimination of nuclear weapons, which in an exaggerated pretense he called a "doomed" weapon as though he rejected such weapons, which is a characteristic lying gesture, peculiar to the Prime Minister, as is generally recognized by the people of Japan and political circles. All these evidences show how pro-nuclear the Nakasone government is, more than any previous LDP government. Japan is now more deeply integrated into the nuclear strategy of the Reagan Administration, thus increasing the danger of Japan being involved in a nuclear war.

Grave Responsibility of SPJ, Komeito and DSP

In May 1985, these opposition parties, but not the JCP, opposed a draft resolution before the Diet, which proposed that the elimination of nuclear weapons be made an urgent task; they had previously supported this, but now they put the issue off to some indefinite future. Former chairman of the DSP, Sasaki, asserted that the Three Non-Nuclear Principles should be reviewed, to permit nuclear weapons to pass through Japanese territory. That party went so far as to say that the desire for the elimination of nuclear weapons is an illusion, and Komeito actually approves the construction of a base for night landing training with nuclear-strike aircraft of the US nuclear carrier Midway.

In keeping with the agreement reached with Komeito 5 years ago, the SPJ officially withdrew the demand for the enactment into law of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles, showing how serious is the responsibility of these opposition parties for Japan being turned into a nuclear base.

The Position of the Japanese Communist Party

The contrast with the position of the JCP is very sharp. The party has taken the initiative even at international level in striving for the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons and has proposed that a non-nuclear government be formed to replace the pro-nuclear Nakasone government. At the 17th Party Congress last November, 5-point objectives were set out for a non-nuclear government, disregarding ideology and creed, calling for a movement for a non-nuclear government to be based on the following objectives:

- (1) Action for the prevention of nuclear war and elimination of nuclear weapons to be made an urgent task;
- (2) Strict Observance of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles;
- (3) Opposition to any measure that could turn Japan into a nuclear battlefield;
- (4) Relief for atom-bomb victims, providing state compensation;
- (5) International solidarity to keep alive the positive tradition of the World Conferences against A and H bombs.

It Is Possible to Establish a Non-Nuclear Government

The movement for a non-nuclear government has gained agreement and support from a broad range of people on these five objectives. On May 19, an Association for a Non-Nuclear Government was formed with the broad support of 1,350 individuals and 50 organizations. When the forces that support those 5 objectives win a majority in the Diet a non-nuclear government will be established. Already the number of local governments that have adopted non-nuclear resolutions totals 1,023, representing 64.07 million people of Japan, a majority of the total population.

Such a government will implement a non-nuclear policy in line with the 5 objectives, setting Japan free of nuclear weapons and from the danger of Japan becoming a nuclear battlefield. As the government of the only nation to have experienced atomic bombing, this will greatly enhance Japan's role at international level, every effort being directed to the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons.

In its proposal on the 5-point objectives, the JCP wants to specify, at international level, what actions a non-nuclear government will take for the elimination of nuclear weapons, and at national level, how it will save Japan from the danger of nuclear war.

I TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON TOTAL PROHIBITION AND ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY MAKING THIS AN URGENT TASK IN ALL ARENAS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The real guarantee of Japan's being freed from the danger of becoming a nuclear battlefield is the elimination of nuclear weapons. As an expression of the people's will to prevent nuclear war and eliminate nuclear weapons, a non-nuclear government will strive to achieve an international agreement totally banning and eliminating nuclear weapons, raising this as an urgent and primary task in all arenas of international politics.

To outlaw nuclear weapons and to take immediate international actions for the elimination of such weapons

In the name of the people of Japan, a non-nuclear government will declare nuclear weapons to be illegal as a threat to all human life. It will at once take resolute action in all areas of international politics: the United Nations, international conferences, bilateral negotiations for abolishing nuclear weapons, which are the source of nuclear war. It also will carry on activities and provide all possible assistance to form a great worldwide chain of movements for preventing nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons. Such activities will be in accord with the earnest desires of the Japanese and other people all over the world seeking peace.

To propose in the UNO that an international agreement be concluded to totally ban and eliminate nuclear weapons within a definite time limit

A non-nuclear government will propose to the UN General Assembly that an international agreement be concluded on the elimination of nuclear weapons within a definite time limit. In particular, it will initiate urgent negotiations for such an agreement with the participation of all nuclear powers, permanent members of the UN Security Council, and, above all, with the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Disarmament Commission of the United Nations is competent to place disarmament questions on the agenda of the UN General Assembly. Besides, the Geneva Conference on Disarmament (CD), an international conference, is made up of 40 countries for elaborating treaties mandated by the UN General Assembly in accordance with resolutions adopted on the agenda. A non-nuclear Japanese government, as a member of these organs will endeavor to have an international agreement signed that will totally ban and eliminate nuclear weapons.

On nuclear weapons issues, the voice of Japan, as the only victim country, carries great weight. Needless to say, these actions carried out in the UN and other international conferences by a non-nuclear government will have a great impact on international life.

To work for the holding of talks in Hiroshima between the top leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union for an end to nuclear weapons

In the joint statement from the US-Soviet foreign ministerial talks held in January 1985, the two countries agreed that an objective of their negotiations is "the complete elimination of nuclear weapons". Since the end of the war lengthy negotiations have been conducted on partial nuclear disarmament measures, while maintaining the theory of "equilibrium" and the "phased elimination" of nuclear weapons. But the vast increase in nuclear weapons confirms that they will never be eliminated by negotiations that uphold that theory. Nuclear weapons have increased 25 times in the past 30 years and even in the past 20 years have multiplied 5 times. How to break this vicious circle is the question, and to do this a political consensus on eliminating nuclear weapons must be positively reached, first of all between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Following the lead of the United States, the Nakasone LDP government has never raised the question of eliminating nuclear weapons in summit talks with the United States or in other bilateral negotiations, such as with the Soviet Union, talks that were resumed after 8 years.

In both the Japan-US and Japan-Soviet talks, a non-nuclear government will strongly urge the two countries to reach between them a specific political consensus on the elimination of nuclear weapons and will propose that Hiroshima is an appropriate place for the United States and the Soviet Union to hold summit talks.

For effective measures to prevent nuclear war and eliminate nuclear weapons

It is also important that effective specific measures be introduced to prevent nuclear war breaking out and to eliminate nuclear weapons. For this purpose, a non-nuclear government will endeavor in the United Nations Organization, in international conferences and in bilateral negotiations:

- (1) to have all nuclear countries reject the first use of nuclear weapons,
- (2) to sign an international agreement prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons,
- (3) to prevent the militarization of outer space,

(4) to conclude an agreement on the total and complete prohibition of nuclear tests,

(5) on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapons states and

(6) to establish nuclear-free zones in various areas of the world.

To endeavor earnestly to set up nuclear-weapons free zones in the Asian-Pacific region

To make the Asian-Pacific region a nuclear-free zone would be an effective step toward the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons. This is the area where nuclear bases have been established by the United States in its forward deployment of nuclear weapons, and they are also deployed by the Soviet Union and China in their respective territories. Moreover, there is no inter-governmental conference or organ in this area to discuss nuclear disarmament issues, as there is in Europe. In these circumstances, to turn the Asian-Pacific region into a nuclear-weapons free zone will be an important international contribution to the prevention of nuclear war in Asia and to save Japan from being made a nuclear battleground.

In this Asian-Pacific region, efforts to prevent their countries becoming a nuclear battlefield are being made by New Zealand and other South Pacific countries. In the 1971 Kuala Lumpur "Declaration on Neutral Zone in South-East Asia" the ASEAN countries proposed that South East Asia be made a nuclear-weapons free zone. Despite the fact that many of these countries are militarily connected with the United States through ANZUS and other military alliances, involving the Philippines and Thailand, it is important to note that they are trying to free themselves from nuclear weapons in order to end the danger of their being turned into a nuclear war zone. In the JCP-CPSU joint statement and a Soviet statement of April 23, 1986 on Asian policy, the Soviet Union calls for nuclear-weapons free zones in the Asian-Pacific region.

A non-nuclear government will propose to the United States, the Soviet Union, China and all other countries in the Asian-Pacific area, that an international conference be held for setting up a nuclear-weapons free zone in the Asian-Pacific region and will strive to reach this goal.

II

TO STRICTLY OBSERVE THE THREE NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES, MAKING PRESENTATION OF NON-NUCLEAR CERTIFICATES OBLIGATORY FOR ENTERING JAPANESE TERRITORY: TO SAVE JAPAN BEING MADE A NUCLEAR BATTLEGROUND

Measures to save Japan from being made a nuclear battleground will be (1) By strict observance of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles not to allow nuclear weapons to be brought into Japan, (2) To oppose all possible measures such as the nuclearization of US military bases in Japan, which could make Japan a target of nuclear war.

The Three Non-Nuclear Principles—"Not to make, possess or allow nuclear weapons to be brought in"—is national policy, embodying the Japanese people's desire to be free from nuclear weapons, never again to have the country involved in the devastation of nuclear war. But these principles have been substantially undermined by both the Japanese and the US governments; it is no secret that nuclear weapons have been brought into Japan. In this situation, it is evident that if nuclear war should break out between the United States and the Soviet Union, Japan would at once become a nuclear battlefield. This must by all means be prevented by the strict and thorough observance of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles.

Nationwide application of obligatory presentation of non-nuclear certificates by foreign warships and aircraft before entering Japan

A non-nuclear government will demand that every foreign warship and airplane before entering Japan submit a non-nuclear certificate. The immediate application of this rule will be made mandatory throughout the country; entry will be refused to non-respondents, ensuring thereby the thorough and strict observance of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles. Kobe City has adopted the formula of submission of non-nuclear certificates since 1975, and Italian or French war vessels make it a point to submit "non-nuclear certificates" through the Foreign Ministry of Japan before making calls at Kobe Port. US warships and other vessels, which

made 432 portcalls before the adoption of this formula, have not entered the port since its adoption.

It is true that the strict application of "Kobe Formula" is feasible only because Kobe port is a civil port, which implies that there are many obstacles in the way of this formula being adopted by such local governments as Sasebo and Yokosuka, where US military bases are located. A non-nuclear government will therefore demand with national authority that non-nuclear certificates be submitted by the US at air and naval bases in Japan, ensuring in this way thorough conformance with the Three Non-Nuclear Principles all over the country.

This can be done by a non-nuclear government even under the existing Japan-US Security Treaty. Though the Japan-US Security Treaty is a military alliance treaty that could involve Japan in a US-induced war, the bringing of nuclear weapons into Japan by the United States can be banned even under that treaty. The Exchange of Notes under the Japan-US Security Treaty lays it down that any important change in deployment of the US armed forces in Japan and any important change in equipment of the armed forces related to direct operational action necessitate prior consultations from the US side. An explanation given by the present government of Japan on any important change in equipment, eg., the bringing-in of nuclear weapons, says that this is "to be refused at any time" on the basis of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles, if prior consultation is sought to that effect.

The neglect of non-nuclear confirmation by the Liberal Democratic Party government is based on the claim that because the United States has sought no such prior consultation it means that nuclear weapons have not been brought in, and that a relationship of mutual trust should be maintained between Japan and the United States, thus debasing the Three Non-Nuclear Principles. But a non-nuclear government will resolutely insist on the thorough implementation of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles.

To notify all countries of a non-nuclear Japan declaration

A non-nuclear government will issue without delay a declaration of non-nuclear Japan and notify the United Nations and all member states to this effect. With nuclear weapons possessing countries, the non-nuclear government will call for respect for the Non-Nuclear Japan Declaration.

Enactment of three non-nuclear principles

A non-nuclear government with agreement of the Diet will enact the Three Non-Nuclear Principles to make them legally binding.

III

TO PREVENT JAPAN BECOMING A NUCLEAR BATTLEGROUND, REMOVE NUCLEAR UNITS AND WEAPONS AND REJECT JAPAN-US JOINT NUCLEAR OPERATIONS

To save Japan from being made a scene of nuclear war a non-nuclear government, in addition to the enactment and strict observance of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles, will stop any measure that could lead Japan into nuclear war, such as approval given by the LDP government to the nuclearization of US military bases and the deployment of nuclear units in Japan, and for carrying out Japan-US nuclear joint operations. Nuclear weapons and units will be removed at once, and participation in such joint operations will immediately cease.

Squadrons of F16 nuclear-capable fighters are deployed in Japan at Misawa, Aomori Prefecture, the nuclearized aircraft carrier Midway is homeported at Yokosuka, and the Third Marine Division and other nuclear units responsible for making a nuclear strike and for supplying and repairing nuclear arms are located in Okinawa and at other places.

A great number of nuclear command installations, essential to United States plans to wage nuclear war are established in US military bases in Japan; there are Giant Talk Stations in Yokota and Kadena bases, established there to relay a US President's final order to B52 strategic bombers flying from Guam Island to launch a nuclear strike; there are communication centers to issue orders for US nuclear submarines to launch nuclear missiles, and Loran C bases. On the assumption of possible nuclear war, Japan-US joint operational plans have been reinforced, a situation that shows the possibility of a nuclear attack being made on Japan. The Loran C base in Italy, which was used in the US aggression against Lybia suffered a retaliatory attack from that country, a fact that clearly illustrates the seriousness of the position in which Japan has now been placed.

To prevent Japan being made a scene of nuclear war, a non-nuclear

government will, without delay, implement the following measures:

(1) All nuclear weapons and units under suspicion, including F16 nuclear-capable fighter squadrons, will be removed from all bases, air, land or sea, wherever they are: All support units, including those used for air-to-air refuelling B52 nuclear bombers, will be removed. The planned construction of a landing and take-off training base for carrier-borne aircraft will immediately be canceled.

(2) All communication centers for relaying strike orders for waging nuclear war will be removed without delay.

(3) Whatever measures that may be helpful in waging nuclear war, such as Japan's Self-Defense Forces escorting nuclearized aircraft carriers or Tomahawk nuclear-missile carrying warships will be banned, and a number of secret agreements, including the Japan-US joint operations plan made on the assumption of nuclear war, will be canceled.

IV

TO ENACT AN A-BOMB SUFFERERS RELIEF LAW, PROVIDING STATE COMPENSATION TO SUCH SUFFERERS, A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY ON THE DAMAGE OF THE ATOMIC BOMBING WILL BE MADE AND FULL INFORMATION ON THE BOMBINGS WILL BE MADE KNOWN TO ALL

In spite of the more than 40 years that have passed since the bombing, the victims who experienced the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and barely survived have not yet recovered, and their suffering has grown worse, becoming more serious with age. A recent survey of the victims, published on July 5, 1984, by Chugoku Shimbun reports that 89.5% of them have serious concern about their health; 41.5% about the health of their children and grandchildren, and 37% about their old age. These facts throw into relief the atrocities of the atomic bombs. Among the A-Bomb victims, such diseases as cataracts, leukemia and cancer are much more prevalent than among the people in general. Now that the average age of the A-Bomb victims is over 60, the number of those who live alone or are confined to bed is rapidly increasing, which means that aged victims have the most serious problems in medical care and living. The pro-nuclear government has no will to eliminate nuclear weapons, but sticks to the theory of nuclear deterrence, related to the whole

concept of nuclear war, and shows no hesitation about causing more victims in a second and third tragedy, making it extremely difficult to establish a true relief policy for the victims and to make a full study on the realities of the first use of nuclear weapons.

To enact an A-Bomb Sufferers Relief Law without delay

A non-nuclear government will enact an A-Bomb Sufferers Relief Law, providing for state compensation. The law will fully guarantee the medical care and living of the victims by providing (1) state responsibility for all medical control, treatment, care and help for them; (2) special pensions for the victims and additional pensions if they are handicapped; and (3) solatiums and pensions for the bereaved families of those who have died. As the effects of the atomic bombings on the children and grandchildren of the victims are a source of great concern, a systematic study and research will be made, for which the state will be responsible; an A-bomb sufferer certificate will be provided if they or their protectors need it, to ensure that adequate medical care is provided for them. If they suffer from an illness that is suspected of resulting from the atomic bombing, their medical care and living will be provided fully as A-bomb sufferers, on state responsibility.

To conduct comprehensive research on the damages of the atomic bombing and establish a scientific research system

In order to make known fully all the damage done by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the confirmation of all deaths from the atomic bombing and conducting systematic research, collection, preservation and utilization of materials and documents will be made an important state project. In respect of this, not only such domestic measures as the establishment of a state institute, but also international actions will be taken, including the demand for immediate return and publication of all materials on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki taken away by the United States. The Japan-US joint management of the Institute on Radio-Active Influence will be ended, and all necessary research will be continued independently by Japan.

**To spread the information on the
realities of the atomic bombing of
Hiroshima and Nagasaki**

The state will lead in mobilizing public opinion that nuclear war must never be fought and that no more people shall become A-bomb victims. An enlightenment campaign will be organized on the importance of peace and freedom from nuclear weapons, by establishing a state museum on the atomic bombing, improving those in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and diffusing the experiences of the bombing in school and social education.

A project on an international campaign for diffusing information on the realities of the atomic bombing will be instituted, including the production and circulation of films and photographic panels on the atomic bombings, especially for overseas.

V

**TO DEVELOP AND STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL
SOLIDARITY BASED ON THE CONSENSUS OF PAST
WORLD CONFERENCES AGAINST A AND H BOMBS,
CARRYING ON ITS POSITIVE TRADITIONS**

The World Conferences against A and H Bombs held in Japan every year since 1955 have had an important place in the formation of many historic agreements and in pursuing and establishing precise direction for the world-wide struggles for preventing nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons based on the common desire for a total ban on such weapons and for their elimination. Most important is that the Conferences have shown the direction of advance for the movement by coordinated action on agreed basic objectives: the prevention of nuclear war, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and the relief to atomic bomb sufferers, rising above all political, religious and other barriers. The strength to achieve the elimination of nuclear weapons is to be found in the movements and public opinion of all the world's people. A non-nuclear government will do everything possible to develop that strength.

**To set going a great global current
for elimination of nuclear weapons**

A non-nuclear government will work to expand and develop the circle of broadest international solidarity for preventing nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons, based on the consensus reached in past World Conferences against A and H Bombs, especially the "Tokyo Declaration" adopted in the 1984 World Conference and the "Appeal from Hiroshima to the People of the World" adopted unanimously by the international meeting of the 1985 World Conference. There are now movements for achieving specific objectives in the movement in many places throughout the world to effectively prevent nuclear war. A non-nuclear government will endeavor to set a great global current moving to bring about an international agreement to totally ban and eliminate nuclear weapons, developing solidarity and exchanges with governments, non-governmental organizations and grass-roots peace organizations in every country, to merge all activities on such specific local tasks into one great current.

**To link the elimination of nuclear weapons
with the task of overcoming starvation and
poverty throughout the world**

While huge human and material resources are being wasted on the nuclear arms race, starvation, poverty and underdevelopment are becoming worse in developing countries. A non-nuclear government will make strenuous efforts to end the nuclear arms race and by achieving the elimination of nuclear weapons overcome these historic distortions that obstruct the progress of humankind.

**To support the holding of international
conferences for solidarity**

A non-nuclear government will support and facilitate the holding of international conferences in Japan and elsewhere in order to develop these movements.

The world-wide current for peace and against nuclear weapons will serve as the motive power to further the great cause of world peace and

human progress, enhancing the prestige of the non-nuclear government among the peoples of other countries.

ON JAPAN'S PARTICIPATION IN SDI

Mitsuhiro KANEKO
Chief of Secretariat.
CC, JCP
Akahata, September 10, 1986

(1) The Nakasone cabinet decided today (September 9) on Japan's participation in SDI of the United States. This act of the Nakasone cabinet is made with the intention to further promote the transfer of military technology to the US, by trampling underfoot the Three Principles Banning Weapons Export and giving top priority to the Japan-US military alliance, and to expand US nuclear arms buildup and to expand it into outer space, which cannot in any circumstances be condoned. Notwithstanding the Nakasone cabinet's deceptive description of its participation in SDI as "non-nuclear defense system" or "conducive to the elimination of nuclear weapons", SDI is basically a program for strengthening of the US forces for nuclear war and will expand the danger of nuclear war by expanding the nuclear arms race into outer space. Serious consideration should be given to the fact that the concept was taken up by the Reagan administration in an attempt to shelve the question of elimination of nuclear weapons in the arena of international politics, against the upsurge of world opinion for the elimination of nuclear weapons. The decision by the Nakasone cabinet for participation in SDI sheds further light on this cabinet as a "pro-nuclear cabinet", which is against the wishes of the people of the world and of Japan.

(2) The fact that the recent decision on participation was made before the Diet session was convened, and openly tramples underfoot the Diet resolution prohibiting the military use of outer space has serious implications, in that it indicates the dangerous moves of the Nakasone cabinet to destroy parliamentary democracy. It is clear that this is contrary to the Diet resolutions and is directed toward undermining and dismantling the Three Non-Nuclear Principles and the ceiling of military budget set at 1 percent of the GNP, maneuvers for enactment of a state secrets protection law, with the further aim of creating state structure within the

framework of the Japan-US military alliance, based on the demands of monopoly capital of the United States and Japan. Though it is stated by the Nakasone cabinet that participation in SDI "has the possibility of exerting a great influence on improving related technologies in Japan" (Statement by the chief cabinet secretary), the participation in SDI is extremely dangerous in that it will push the militarization of science and technology in Japan and will bring it back on the prewar track, with science and technology utilized to serve the purposes of war.

(3) Needless to say, participation in research and development of SDI, the alleged objective of which is to incapacitate nuclear weapons, will not be needed, if nuclear weapons are eliminated.

The Japanese Communist Party severely denounces the decision to participate in SDI and demands that the decision be cancelled. At the same time, the party will continue to make every effort for the prevention of nuclear war, the elimination of nuclear weapons and conclusion of an international agreement for a total ban and elimination of nuclear weapons.

Appendix 1;

REQUEST TO THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

Association for a
Non-Nuclear Government
July 29, 1986

Prime Minister
Yasuhiro Nakasone
Government of Japan

Mr. Prime Minister,

At no period in human history has the elimination of nuclear weapons become such an urgent and important duty.

But in spite of this, the vicious circle of the nuclear arms race is continuing in world politics and humankind is facing the threat of annihilation. We are deeply concerned about this.

In addition, although the Government of Japan, the atomic-bombed country, has an international duty to change this serious trend in international politics and take the lead in eliminating nuclear weapons from the world, it not only fails in that duty, but is actively cooperating with the United States of America in the policy of nuclear arms build-up that is likely to expose Japan to the danger of being made a nuclear battlefield again. As people of the atomic-bombed country, we have to express a deep regret at this.

Such an actual nuclear policy of the Japanese Government is incompatible even with the public promise made for "peace and disarmament" by Prime Minister Nakasone himself in the recent dual elections for the two Houses of the Diet. This cannot be overlooked. On the occasion of the inauguration of the third Nakasone Cabinet, we earnestly demand that the Government give up the nuclear policy it has adopted and take concrete steps to realize the immediate elimination of nuclear weapons, the people's common desire, and we make the following request of the new Government.

I. To Make a Proposal and Positive Efforts in International Politics for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons

(1) To change the policy of opposing resolutions of the United Nations for prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

(2) To propose in this autumn session of the UN General Assembly the conclusion of an international treaty for eliminating nuclear weapons with a set time limit, and to work for its realization.

(3) To urge especially the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union to hold summit talks in Hiroshima, the original place of nuclear war, for an agreement promising to the world the elimination of nuclear weapons, and to make every effort to bring about such talks.

(4) To make proposals, including the establishment of nuclear-free Asia, in every international arena, proper to the Government of the atomic-bombed country.

II. To Strictly Observe the Three Non-Nuclear Principles and to Reject Port-Calls and Deployment of Warships and Aircraft Suspected of Carrying Nuclear Weapons

Though the Government does not officially reject the Three Non-Nuclear Principles, it has in fact allowed port-calls and deployment of warships and aircraft which are capable of carrying nuclear weapons. Many people entertain the serious suspicion that the Three Non-Nuclear Principles are not being observed. The Government has the responsibility to clear such a suspicion. For that purpose, we propose that the following measures be taken.

(1) Reject port-calls of the New Jersey on which Tomahawk nuclear cruise missiles are evidently carried.

(2) On all other foreign weapons, unless it is confirmed explicitly that they are not nuclear, the Government should not allow port-calls, entry into ports or entry into this country.

(3) To make known to foreign countries the procedure for confirmation and inform them of the firm policy that warships and aircraft which

do not take the procedure and are under any suspicion, are refused port-calls, entry into ports and entry into the country.

(4) To take all measures so that the Three Non-Nuclear Principles may not be contravened and to make public in the Diet the specific measures for this.

III. To Immediately End All Nuclear Policies That Could Turn Japan into a Nuclear Battlefield

In order for the Japanese Government to make positive efforts in international politics for the elimination of nuclear weapons, it is necessary to renounce immediately all policies approving nuclear weapons, and show that its own hands are clean. In the light of the human principle that no beautiful words can be believed if uttered by a person with dirty hands, the Japanese Government is duty-bound to take the following measures.

(1) To immediately abandon the plan for participation in the study of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) which could lead to nuclear war expanding to outer space.

Since the study is based on a concept of outer space nuclear war, the Japanese Government must demand that the US Government stop the plan. For the Japanese Government to take part in the study for SDI, not demanding its termination, violates the Diet Resolution of 1969 which restricts the use of outer space to "peaceful purposes" only, and would lead to nuclear militarization of science and technology. To take part in the study of SDI is in total contradiction of the policy for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

(2) To immediately stop Japan-US joint military exercises carried out on the supposition of nuclear war.

According to a US commander in the recently held Rimpac, Rim of the Pacific joint military exercise, Japan played a practical combat role in the drill, by way of Japanese missile escort vessels directly defending US nuclear-armed aircraft carriers. Such a joint exercise, which means Japan's direct cooperation in US nuclear strategy, should never be conducted again.

(3) To have US nuclear units withdrawn from Japan.

Now US units and facilities for nuclear war, such as the F16 nuclear

attack unit, the Giant Talk Stations to relay nuclear attack commands, the Loran C facilities and the ultra-long frequency transmission facilities are placed in Japan and are being reinforced. These nuclear bases not only intensify military tension relating to nuclear war around Japan, but are the most serious factor threatening Japan with the possibility of becoming a nuclear battlefield. All nuclear bases and nuclear units comprise a hundred evils but bring no benefit, and must be withdrawn.

IV. To Meet the Keen Demands of the Aging Hibakusha (atomic bomb survivors) at the Earliest Possible Date

Even today, forty-one years after the bombing, approximately 370,000 Hibakusha are suffering from the devastating effects of the atomic bombing. Moreover, as these Hibakusha grow older, the number of those living alone or bed-ridden has increased, with their demands for medical treatment and livelihood becoming more and more acute. It is an urgent responsibility to resolve this problem.

(1) To immediately enact Hibakusha Relief Law providing state compensation.

It stands to reason that the Hibakusha, first victims in history of bombing by nuclear weapons, be compensated by the state. To enact this into law at the same time will express at home and abroad self-examination on the basic points, never again to create Hibakusha in the world by nuclear war.

(2) To make clear scientifically the actual conditions of the atomic bombing of Japan and make the facts widely and thoroughly known to the peoples of the world.

Though researches were done by scientists on the realities of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it cannot be said that all aspects have been made clear. The Government of Japan has the unique international duty appropriate for the atomic-bombed country to provide specific conditions that enable scientific explication from all angles, including the conducting of a governmental investigation into victims who died from the atomic bombing and the actual living conditions of atomic bomb survivors today and to widely disseminate the results and documents to the peoples of the world.

The foregoing make up the points of our request. At present,

autonomies declaring themselves nuclear-free cover the majority of the Japanese people, and a Non-Nuclear Government mentioned above would be the very embodiment of the majority people's will. We make this precise representation to the Government for implementation of a non-nuclear policy, the demand of a wide range of the people of Japan.

Appendix 2:

**WE APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF ALL HUMANITY
FOR PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AND THE URGENT
ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

From Tokyo to the World: International Conference of
the 1986 World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs

It is forty-one years since Hiroshima and Nagasaki were destroyed by those two atomic bombs. In these intervening years, another Hiroshima or Nagasaki have only narrowly been prevented by the will and action of those people who have conscientiously stood firm for justice.

However, during this same period, nuclear weapons have become increasingly sophisticated, and the stockpiles have risen enormously. Now great numbers of nuclear warheads are deployed throughout the world on land, sea and air, ready to be launched at any time. Even at this very moment, another nuclear warhead is being produced and deployed.

The danger is very real that even a simple misunderstanding or error could trigger the actual use of these deadly weapons. A number of tragic accidents have made the world's people aware of the grave consequences such an event could have.

There is no guarantee that tomorrow the fate of the whole human race will not be the same as or even worse than that of the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki forty-one years ago. There is a real danger that a mushroom cloud, such as once covered those two cities, will rise in many places in the world, and that the whole planet will be shrouded in a "nuclear winter".

We must end this danger now. This is the noble duty resting on the conscience and reason of all humankind.

Nuclear weapons are not monsters with their own will and life, but are the evil fruits of human technology, and no matter how enormous their amount, there is no essential reason why they cannot be dismantled and abolished by that same human technology. We are convinced for this reason that the united power of all the people can abolish and eliminate all existing nuclear warheads, and build a system that will never allow nuclear arms to be produced again. This is the only way that the danger

and threat of the use of nuclear weapons, i.e. a nuclear war, can be eliminated. We welcome all initiatives that help to reach this goal.

We call for a binding agreement to ban all research, development, testing, production, possession, stockpiling, deployment, proliferation and use of nuclear weapons — an international agreement to totally ban and eliminate nuclear weapons, as the only possible and sure way to abolish nuclear weapons. Our demand is for governments, including the USA., USSR and all nuclear weapons possessing states to begin negotiations immediately for this.

The power that can achieve this agreement is the strength of the voice and movement of the widest range of people across the world, demanding straightforwardly that the elimination of nuclear arms be made the urgent task to be accomplished. The "complete elimination of nuclear arms", the goal set for the Geneva US - USSR negotiations, will be brought about only by this power of the people. We earnestly call on all people of the world to respond and join in the movement demanding the abolition of nuclear weapons as an urgent task, putting aside all differences of thought, creed and social system.

Our hearts beat in unison in expressing warm solidarity with all movements of all the peoples of the world making anti-nuclear and nuclear-free demands that have helped to prevent an outbreak of nuclear war: the struggle for a complete ban on nuclear tests; a ban on the use of nuclear weapons; the renunciation of the first-use of nuclear weapons by nuclear weapons possessing country; against deployment of nuclear warheads and port-calls of nuclear-equipped warships; for the removal of nuclear bases and troops; for creation of nuclear free zones and against the military use of outer space. We call for the further development of such movements, and for all to join in the global efforts for elimination of all nuclear weapons.

A vast amount of money and energy are wasted on the nuclear arms race. Continuing violation of the right to national self-determination increases international tensions, which could lead to nuclear war. We extend warm greetings of solidarity and support to all those people struggling against discrimination and poverty, and in their demand for national self-determination and social and economic progress. We invite them to join with us in the efforts to end the threat of nuclear weapons, the vital task for the whole of the human community.

We express the deepest concern over the dangerous state of the Japan-US military alliance. We call for the dissolution of all military

alliances and blocs, while holding that the diversity of opinions toward each military alliance and bloc should not be an obstacle to rallying the peace forces to the movement demanding the abolition of nuclear weapons as a task to be carried out urgently.

We will devote ourselves to every effort and welcome all initiatives to raise the voices and movements of the world to prevent nuclear war and eliminate nuclear weapons and to merge them into a vast international stream.

We call to the world public to hold "atomic bomb exhibitions" in many places of the world to make known to all the consequences of the atomic bomb disaster, as the means of mobilizing public opinion and exchanging views. The Japanese movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs has expressed its determination to cooperate for the success of such a project. We propose that August 6 and 9 be made "Hiroshima and Nagasaki Days" and call for simultaneous actions internationally for prevention of nuclear war and elimination of nuclear weapons.

We are paying close attention to the signature campaign in support of the "Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki - for a Total Ban and Elimination of Nuclear Weapons", launched in February last year from Hiroshima and Nagasaki and which has greatly expanded internationally. We call on the world to extend solidarity and develop the campaign further.

We call for and expect positive initiatives will be taken at the coming summit conference of non-aligned countries, for the conclusion of an international agreement totally prohibiting all nuclear armaments.

We extend our strong solidarity to the Japanese Hibakusha and their movement, as living witnesses of nuclear war, calling for abolition of nuclear weapons, and demand enactment of a Hibakusha Aid Law embodying the principle of State compensation.

Based on the positive tradition and the agreed points reached in previous World Conferences, we again call on the entire world from Tokyo, the capital of the atomic bombed Japan, in the name of the conference.

In solidarity with the Hibakusha, let us expand the strength of public opinion and movements seeking the elimination of nuclear weapons as an urgent duty, and create a great united stream. Let us unite the reason and conscience of all humanity to that end.

August 3, 1986

Appendix 3:

MESSAGE TO THE EIGHTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATES AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Organizing Committee of
1986 World Conference against
Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs
August 29, 1986

On the occasion of the 8th Summit Conference of the Heads of States and Governments of the Non-Aligned Countries, we extend to you, as government leaders of the non-aligned countries participating in the conference, our cordial greetings of solidarity from the anti-nuclear peace movement of Japan, the only atomic bombed country. The anti-nuclear movement of the world and the non-aligned movement are linked with each other in the cause to set the world free of the threat of nuclear war and all nuclear weapons, and we hope that your 8th Summit Conference will achieve great success in reaching the goal of the elimination of nuclear arms, dissolution of military blocs, non-alignment, self-determination of nations and the establishing of a new international economic order.

In August of this 41st year since the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the 1986 World Conference against A and H Bombs was held successfully in Tokyo, in Hiroshima and in Nagasaki, with the participation of some 15,000 Japanese delegates from grass-roots anti-nuclear movements all over the country as well as 88 overseas delegates from 20 international and regional organizations and 36 national organizations of 28 countries. We want to inform you that the document unanimously adopted by the World Conference's international meeting, held in Tokyo on August 2 and 3, bore the title: "We Appeal to the Conscience of All Humanity for Prevention of Nuclear War and the Urgent Elimination of Nuclear Weapons", and made special reference to your current Summit Conference, saying.

"We call for and expect positive initiatives will be taken at the coming summit conference of non-aligned countries, for the conclusion of an

international agreement totally prohibiting all nuclear armaments.”

We hope that this expectation will meet with a positive response in your current Summit Conference.

This year's World Conference against A and H Bombs noted in particular that to prevent nuclear war is “the noble duty resting on the conscience and reason of all humankind”, and called for the conclusion of “a binding agreement to ban all research, development, testing, production, possession, stockpiling, deployment, proliferation and use of nuclear weapons — an international agreement to totally ban and eliminate nuclear weapons” as the “only way that the danger and threat of the use of nuclear weapons, i.e. nuclear war can be eliminated”. It also made it clear that the power that can achieve this agreement is the strength of the demand and movement of the widest range of people across the world, demanding straightforwardly that the elimination of nuclear arms be made the urgent task to be accomplished.

Expressing solidarity with the struggles for a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing, a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, renunciation of first-use of nuclear weapons, against the deployment of nuclear arms, the port-calls of nuclear equipped warships, for the removal of nuclear bases and troops, creation of nuclear free zones and against the militarization of outer space, the conference document invites them to join in the movement for the total abolition of nuclear weapons. Solidarity and support were also expressed to “all those people struggling against discrimination and poverty, and in their demand for national self-determination and social and economic progress”, calling on them to join in the efforts to accomplish the vital task for the whole of humanity, the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The 1986 World Conference paid close attention to the world-wide development of the “signature campaign in support of the ‘Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki for a Total Ban and Elimination of Nuclear Weapons’, launched in February last year from Hiroshima and Nagasaki”, and appealed to the people of the world to develop this even further. This signature campaign, initiated by the anti-nuclear peace organizations of 12 countries, including Japan, has now expanded to 147 countries, including many non-aligned countries, and in this only atomic bombed country, Japan, some 20 million people have signed it. In the World Conference, many delegates overseas laid the emphasis on the need to promote the campaign further internationally. We hope that you, as leaders of the non-aligned movement, will give special attention to this

important campaign. Warmly asking for your signature to be appended to the appeal, we also request your cooperation in spreading it in each of your respective countries.

Further, the adopted document called on the world public to hold “atomic bomb exhibitions” in many places of the world to make known to all the consequences of the atomic bomb tragedy, as the means of mobilizing public opinion and exchanging views”. As an anti-nuclear peace movement of the atomic bombed country, we are willing to promote this enterprise and help implement the plan in each country by sending an atomic bomb survivors (Hibakusha) delegation and providing you with exhibition materials.

Feeling confident that the tasks and actions set out by the adopted document of the 1986 World Conference against A and H Bombs are fully in accordance with the ideals of the non-aligned movement, we hope that these views will be given your support and be reflected in the outcome of your Summit Conference. We also hope that our suggestions will be explicitly examined by an organ of the non-aligned movement and at each national level.

We extend best wishes for the success of your conference work, and for the development of cooperation between the Japanese anti-nuclear movement and the non-aligned movement.

*Appendix 4:***STATEMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

Japan Council against
Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs
September 17, 1986

On the occasion of the International Year of Peace, we again remind ourselves of the great importance of the first resolution of the United Nations, calling for "the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons". But in spite of that resolution, the nuclear arms race is continuing unabated, threatening the very survival of all humankind. To prevent nuclear war and eliminate nuclear weapons from the world is now the most urgent and life-bearing task for all people.

The history of these more than forty years since the end of World War II shows that the mobilization of world opinion for the prevention of nuclear war and elimination of nuclear weapons is the most decisive factor.

For this reason, peace organizations of 12 countries in February last year launched the "Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki" for preventing nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons. In Japan over 20 million signatures supporting this appeal have been collected, and the signature campaign has now spread to 147 countries, mobilizing public opinion in the process. In respect of this, the "NGO Conference to Mark the International Year of Peace" which met in Geneva last January, recommended that all NGOs intensify their actions and join in the signature campaign in support of the Appeal.

The Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Japan Gensuikyo) formed in Japan in 1955, representing the only atomic-bombed country, has never ceased campaigning for the prevention of nuclear war, the elimination of nuclear weapons and relief of atomic-bomb sufferers (Hibakusha). Every year it has held World Conferences against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in cooperation with broad-ranging anti-nuclear peace forces. The International Conference of the 1986 World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs adopted a resolution

unanimously which urges all governments, including nuclear weapons possessing countries, to conclude an international agreement to totally ban nuclear weapons, and calling on the whole world to expand the signature campaign for the "Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki".

We hope that the United Nations Organization and the governments of its member states will increase their efforts to achieve an agreement for the elimination of nuclear weapons, and with full understanding of our efforts, will cooperate to achieve these aims.

英文 日本の反核運動と日本共産党 ￥700

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